R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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MEN WANT WORK. REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, OFFICE OF MANPOWER AUTOMATION AND TRAINING.

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THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS MADE A ONE-YEAR STUDY OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT IN APPALACHIA AND HELPED ESTABLISH THE YOUTH, EDUCATION, JOB DEVELOPMENT, WORK EXPERIENCE, VISTA, AND ON THE JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS WHICH ARE REVIEWED AND EVALUATED IN THIS REPORT. IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT--(1) MEN WANT JOBS, (2) WHILE UNFILLED JOBS EXIST IN BUSINESS THROUGHOUT APPALACHIA, TRAINED WORKERS ARE NOT AVAILABLE, AND (3) THERE ARE UNMET NEEDS IN WELFARE, EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND PUBLIC FACILITIES. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FUTURE MANPOWER WORK IN THE AREA CENTER AROUND THREE PROGRAMS--(1) ON THE JOB TRAINING, TO INCLUDE MATCHING JOBS WITH THE UNEMPLOYED AND PROVIDING AID IN PLANNING TRAINING PROGRAMS, COUNSELING SERVICES FOR TRAINEES, HELP TO BUSINESS IN DEVELOPING MARKETS, AND COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS TO INVOLVE THE POOR IN SOCIAL CHANGE, (2) NEW CAREERS, TO INCLUDE THE TRAINING OF INDIGENOUS UNEMPLOYED FOR NONPROFESSIONAL JOBS IN WELFARE, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH SERVICES, AND (3) DIRECT EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR IN CONSERVATION, ROAD CONSTRUCTION, AND BEAUTIFICATION. (DOCUMENT INCLUDES A DESCRIPTION OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM OF A NEW INDUSTRY--IRON MOUNTAIN STONEWARE, CASE HISTORIES, AND A REPORT, INCLUDING TABLES, OF THE SPECIAL VALUE OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING IN RURAL AREAS.) (AJ)

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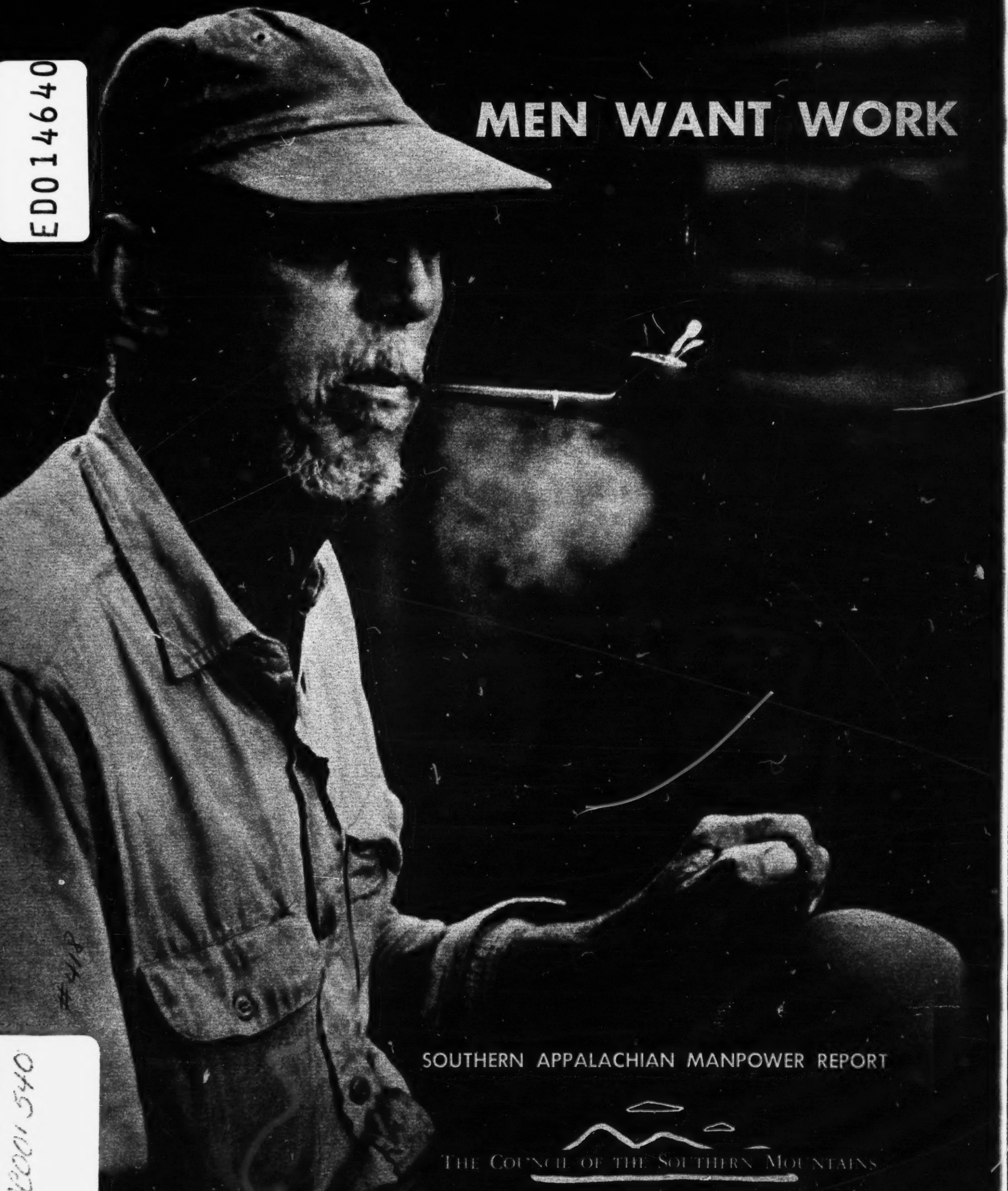
MEN WANT WORK



SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN MANPOWER REPORT

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS

#418

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Cover photo by Warren Brunner.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Report to the

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE MANPOWER AUTOMATION AND TRAINING

By the

MANPOWER PROJECT STAFF

of

THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS, INC.

This research reported herein was financed through the research program of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, United States Department of Labor

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DECEMBER, 1966

BEREA, KENTUCKY

MEN WANT WORK

But as automation and technological change have machines doing the work men have done in the past, we must be ready to redefine our concept of work and discover new ways of distributing our nation's wealth.

In the interim, nevertheless, men want work.

HIGHLIGHTS

CONCLUSIONS:

- Men want jobs
- Jobs are here
  - — in privately owned businesses
  - — to meet currently unmet needs in education, health, and construction of public facilities
- Inadequate machinery exists to get men and jobs together
- Agencies are not adequately reaching the poor
- Education centered approach to manpower development is not working for the poor

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Any solution to the poor's manpower and employment problems must be tied to the poor's involvement in community organization
- On the job training centered rather than institutional training centered manpower development for the poor
- Direct employment programs and new careers for the poor tied to meeting the community's unmet needs

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Preface

The contractor for this project is the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc. The following is a statement of its history and current program.

PHILOSOPHY AND PURPOSE

"The Council is a voluntary association of persons and organizations with an interest in the people of the Appalachian Region, with special concern for those in deprived areas.

"Believing the region's human and natural resources to be critical factors in the total life of the nation, the Council purposes to promote the best social, economic, cultural, and spiritual interests of the Appalachian Region."*

The Council works with organizations and persons concerned with the expressed needs of the people of the region and seeks to bring together persons with common interests and purposes. It looks for positive effort wherever it may be found, and it rejects no group simply because that group has critics. The Council is committed in principle to the creation of programs built upon the experience, felt needs, and participation of the people for whom the programs are being designed. The Council is not primarily a program agency, but it does carry on two types of programs — those designed to discover and test new ideas, and those that are instituted because a newly defined or recognized need must be met. These programs are generated as ideas and needs arise and are recognized; they are concluded as needs are met.

*From the Council Bylaws.

HISTORY

The Council has been serving the Appalachian South since 1913. The organizing group, made up of 135 leaders in religious, educational, health and other social movements, came together to discuss common problems they faced in their work throughout the Appalachian South. In that era, the primitive transportation and communication system of the region constituted an obvious barrier to the sharing of ideas among persons and institutions with similar aims, and the group decided to attempt to overcome this mental and spiritual isolation by setting up a continuing forum. Accordingly, they organized themselves into the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers. Originally, an annual conference — which has been held without interruption ever since — was the principal activity. But, as opportunities for service grew and greater resources became available, the organization expanded its scope. In 1930, for example, it assumed the publication of MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK. It began a movement to improve the production and marketing of handicrafts, which resulted in the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild. The organization was incorporated under its present name, the Council of the Southern Mountains, Inc.

In the early years, most of the Council's work was accomplished through the annual conference and MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK, through special and regional meetings, and through the work of committees on education, health, community development and other interests. As it grew, however, it created and conducted programs in recreation, education and health. In the past few years, as the problems of the Appalachian South have come to wide national attention, the Council has played a significant part in the development and testing of various programs designed to aid the people of the region. This explicit program activity exists in the context of the Council's over-all functions — as a council of many diverse groups and interests, a coordinator of programs, a convener of meetings, a reservoir and clearinghouse of information about the Appalachian Region.

PRESENT ACTIVITIES

General Council Activities. In accordance with its original purposes, the Council holds an annual conference, attended by members and by others with special interest in the region; it holds state and regional meetings, and it conducts training workshops. It publishes the quarterly magazine MOUNTAIN LIFE & WORK, a regular newsletter, books and other materials in its effort to examine and disseminate ideas and to help preserve the positive values of Appalachian culture. Members of the staff, which presently numbers 85 persons, travel throughout the region and to other parts of the nation to assist persons and groups in solving problems. The staff also works with Council citizen commissions on Regional Development, Education,

Health, Welfare, Arts and Humanities, Spiritual Life, Youth, Research and Urban Affairs. Council headquarters serves as a clearinghouse for information on the region. The staff confers with hundreds of professional visitors and maintains correspondence with persons throughout the region and the nation.

Besides the Manpower Project, of which this is the final report, other Council programs include:

Ford Foundation Grant Projects. Under grants from the Ford Foundation, the Council is seeking through person-to-person discussion, through conferences and through limited financial aid, to assist teachers, school officials and concerned citizens as they seek to develop and apply new ideas in education. The Council also maintains, as another Ford-financed project, an office devoted to the stimulation and co-ordination of research into Appalachian subjects. Linked with the education and research projects is a publishing project aimed at circulating important ideas and information and at publishing important books and papers. Under this project, the Council published Jack Weller's book, *Yesterday's People,* in collaboration with the University of Kentucky Press.

Health. Under a grant from the Appalachian Fund, the Council maintains an active program of co-operation with public-health agencies and workers in the field. The Council Health Commission, made up of doctors, nurses and other professionals, is continuously exploring problems of rural health service. In addition, during 1965 the health staff obtained and distributed more than $300,000 worth of vitamins, drugs and other pharmaceuticals, as well as tons of clothing and shoes.

Appalachian Volunteers. This project is supported by a demonstration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. More than 1500 volunteers — college students and persons from local communities — have been involved in week-end and vacation projects devoted to the renovation of one- and two-room schools and to the improvement of teaching through enrichment and remedial programs. The Appalachian Volunteers have co-sponsored a national book drive which produced a million and a half books, which have been distributed to these small schools — giving many of them the first libraries they have ever had. The Volunteers are presently obtaining kitchen equipment for the schools, so that hot lunches can be provided. The Appalachian Volunteers work closely with the VISTA program; the AV staff has trained 130 VISTA volunteers for service in Appalachia in community-action and other types of programs. Shortly after the end of the manpower project, the Appalachian Volunteers became an independent corporation.

Community Action Project. This project, which is financed by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, is designed to aid and support community-action programs in Appalachia. It has three principal components: 1) the Talent Bank, which recruits persons with special skills to direct community-action programs and to serve in other capacities; 2) training workshops, to provide the special background and training needed by those who will hold positions in local community-action programs; 3) the technical-assistance staff, who are available for consultation and program work with local communities.

Urban Affairs. The Council operates a center in Chicago, aimed at helping migrants from Appalachia deal with their problems of adjustment to urban life. There are more than 25,000 Southern migrants in the Uptown area, where the center is located. The staff of the center helps the newcomers find housing, jobs and legal and medical aid, and assists them in coping with a variety of special problems. The center is an informal store-front operation, directed by a native of the mountains, and it has become a favorite meeting place for mountaineers in Chicago. The staff arranges adult-education classes, recreation and other activities. It has also played a significant and widely recognized part in helping the established social agencies in Chicago develop an understanding of the migrants and their problems.

The Council holds an annual Workshop on the Urban Adjustment of Southern Appalachian Migrants. It is attended by representatives of urban departments of health, education, welfare and law enforcement, and by persons from numerous other social agencies. The workshop deals with the mountaineer, his culture personality, strengths and problems; its purpose is to enhance the work of these agencies in relation to migrants and their problems. The Council also helps urban groups organize and staff human-relations workshops.

The Manpower Project received continual help and support from the Council's other programs. We could not have had the success we have had if it had not been for them and for the executive staff. We appreciate also the advice and counsel of the Council's individual members and the Board of Directors.

Introduction

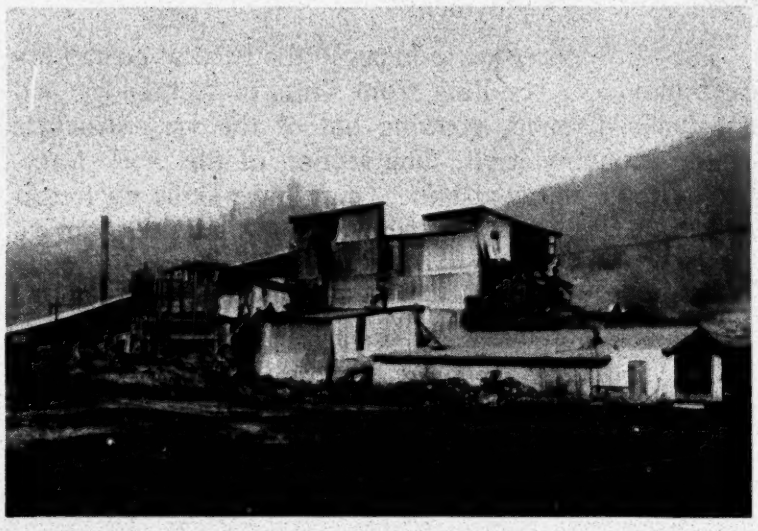
The Council of the Southern Mountains viewed congressional passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 with great hope. The Council had come to the conclusion that progress was being thwarted in the mountain counties for several reasons and one of the most important was massive unemployment. Through much of the area man had been dependent upon the coal industry, the timber industry or farming for his livelihood. In the coal industry, machines had taken over the labor that man had done in the past. The men who were needed had to have vastly different skills than the old coal miner. The timber industry had cut out most of the marketable wood in a way that it would be years before new trees would be ready for cutting. The mountain counties were never much good for farming, but the technological revolution that had taken place in agriculture had made it difficult for farmers in the area to compete with those on the open plains. So we had a large area where men needed to be retrained for new skills in demand in the 20th century. For this reason the Council looked with great hope on the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Little happened in MDTA's first two years of operation in the mountain counties that fulfilled this hope. In the urban areas most of the pieces of the puzzle seemed to be present, reasonably convenient to where those without jobs or those who had lost their jobs lived. One could find employment services, vocational education schools, and employers who needed trained manpower. However, in rural areas it seemed that the pieces to the puzzle were so scattered that it was difficult to get them together and fit them into an overall scheme. The employment service would be in one county seat, the vocational school might be in another county seat, and the jobs still in another location or even outside the area. And all of these were far from the individual coal miner, farmer, or timberman, who had lost his way of making a living.

Almost from the beginning the problem in the Appalachian South was obvious. But the solution was not that obvious. The unemployed and the under employed needed basic education, acculturation to the present society, and new technical skills. They had not needed to know how to read or write or do basic math to mine coal. They had not needed to know the system of values that is so important in the demands of modern industry — personal hygiene, nutrition, and the communicative skills, among others. They were not accustomed to a world where man has to be able to continually change as the demands of his job change. The Act had some success in urban areas in meeting the variety of needs of the unemployed. But in the rural areas, especially the rural mountain areas, success in meeting all of these needs was evasive. Besides, just meeting one need, like giving a man a new skill, still didn't make him employable. And now he was frustrated and discouraged because the training that gave him a new skill did not give him a job.

Seeing these developments, the Council began to try to envision a way to make the dream of the Manpower Development and Training Act a reality in the mountain counties. The Council felt that trying to solve the manpower problem in the area by getting the total community involved might be the best approach. The Council made a proposal to the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training in the Department of Labor to give this idea a try.

Because the project was concerned with the manpower problem of a large region, it was conceived not as an operational but a promotional project. The Council would in its initial effort seek to encourage a deeper understanding of the manpower problem in the area, specifically the reasons why some of the standard approaches were not working and new approaches and techniques were needed. It was hoped that someone in the project could plead the special interest of these people who had been bypassed by every program, those who live outside the concentric circles drawn from Employment Service offices, and could stir the conscience of the "agencies' system" to the fact that it was dealing primarily with the easy cases, those who could make it on their own, and was leaving behind many hundreds of families.



Appalachian Coal Tipple

The project's staff was recruited and trained. It was during this training that we began to realize that the available data on manpower training, especially taking into account the experience of other Experimental and Demonstration projects, pointed up the fact that something was wrong with manpower training in Appalachia. The dropout rate in MDTA and ARA programs was high, higher than other areas of the country. Of those who completed the courses, fewer than the national rate found jobs at all, very few who got jobs held them, and many found only sporadic employment. And then at the Berea Conference where most of the Experimental and Demonstration contracts in the country were represented, we got a brief glimpse of the idea of job development tied to community action rather than simply to industrial expansion.

Also, very early in the project we found Vocational Education and Employment Security cordial but formidably systematized institutions, tightly structured and so involved in serving those who came and asked for service that they could not engage in outreach to those individuals who needed the most broad and intensive help.

Further, our involvement in the War on Poverty, especially the community action phase, began to broaden our understanding of the term "community action." We began to see that it encompassed more than local power structures and programs parceled out to the poor and included involving the poor in change both of themselves and of our social system simultaneously. We began to feel, with others, that perhaps by getting the very people who have to change if they are to work in this new age involved in the change process itself, even helping us determine what this change should be, progress could be made.

So, during this year we arrived at a new understanding of manpower and community action in Appalachia. And the pivotal point in this understanding is the term "structural unemployment."

The term has come to mean in the field of economics unemployment resulting from shifts in technology and consumer demand, growing out of the very structure of the economy itself. One section of the work force, for example the coal miner, may have skills no longer needed by the economy. At the same time the chemical plant manager may — or may not — have difficulty finding the highly trained men he needs to meet the consumers' demands.

The situation is slightly different in the context of Appalachia. Here men who once had marketable skills can no longer find work, and yet the area is crippled by the fact that a host of unmet needs exist for which money is available, both public and private. The fields of health, education, public facilities, communication and many others are decades behind available knowledge in these fields, and indeed behind what is commonplace over most of the United States. Still, Appalachia's rural mountain people pay day after day in everyday ways for the fact that the facilities and skills are non-existent here. And they get further and further behind, in income, in needed skills, in attitude, even in desires. So both industry and private service businesses are often unwilling to locate in Appalachia,because it is uncomfortable and may well be unprofitable. The circle then begins again.

For the time being at least, then, and with funds from outside the area, a new "structure" based on meeting the crying needs in education, health and other fields is going to attempt to break the cycle. Hopefully, small businesses can be started within the region to serve unmet consumer demands. Hopefully, existing businesses can be encouraged to expand. Hopefully, some things can be done to make use of the vast land resources, now lying idle except for mining, such as recreation or timber use.

But if Appalachia is to become productive, no one of these can await the others. "Direct employment" of the poor by community action and other programs, using mainly federal money, is a firm first step. Such action will attempt to boost income as well as to make education more relevant to the subculture of the poor, to make health education and medical treatment more accessible and widespread, to make knowledge of available programs and rights available, and to open avenues of growth toward the mainstream of American society.

And further, the needs for such services and facilities in the rest of the country are outstripping the country's ability to produce the skilled people necessary to meet these needs; an area such as Appalachia has even more difficulty competing for these skilled people who must be drawn from outside the area. To help meet such problems we feel that on-the-job training should be tested in a wider setting; it has real possibilities for employment of the poor in private businesses in Appalachia. We feel EOA Title V, with certain differences, can be effective in rural communities. And we feel that all manpower programs in Appalachia need to be work centered rather than education centered.

We feel our experience this past year opened some cracks in some walls. We claim no pat answers nor panaceas for the serious manpower problem in Appalachia. But we do think our experience shed some much needed light. With the structural unemployment and the unmet needs that exist in Appalachia itself, within each community actually, the answer seems to include community action and development, then training for both non-professionals in public services and apprentices in private businesses. Then the area's vast human resources can be brought to bear on its fantastic host of needs.

This briefly is the project's experience during the past year. The following chapters more specifically detail our progress.

Chapter I

Purposes, Expectations, Failures, Fulfillments

The Council's Manpower Project met the specific provision of the contract with the Department of Labor. Some provisions were met far in excess of the stated requirement, other provisions were barely achieved, while others were only partially met and by changing some of our original assumptions. The project also related itself to new situations that no one could have anticipated when the contract was initially written. By doing this we feel our efforts were kept relevant as the situation changed.

The contract says that the Council's Manpower Project was to serve "no less than 1,000 hard-core, unemployed youth and adults in the Appalachian south with a variety of services including development of broad and diversified training programs; vocational guidance and counseling; remedial education; job development and placement; and supervise the establishment of OJT programs for no less than 50 hard-core unemployed individuals." Understanding that the Council's project was a promotional project, our role was to convince other operating agencies to meet the specific needs of our special group, the disadvantaged. During the year the Council's Manpower Project acted as the moving force in establishing programs to serve just over 5,500 individuals. However, even more important than this initial number is the fact that in many Appalachian counties a process has begun. Individuals and communities for the first time are aware of the new tools that are available to solve some very knotty and very old problems. With help and encouragement this process will continue and visible change will take place.

The staff of the Manpower Project played a vital role in developing several broad and diversified training programs. Operationally these programs served 1,620 youth and adults. Six hundred thirty seven unemployed individuals were reached with vocational guidance and counseling by the project's staff. By working with existing agencies and institutions the project was able to reach 2,989 individuals with remedial education courses. The project provided 277 individuals with job development and placement. On-the-job training programs were established for 62 hard-core unemployed or under-employed individuals. The following chapters of this report will detail the specifics of these accomplishments.

The project was designed "to demonstrate that experimentation with a variety of methods and techniques together with the evaluation of their relative success by an organization such as the Council of the Southern Mountains could help to achieve a realistic comprehension of the precise nature of the factors impeding both MDTA and ARA programs in the area from reaching those most in need of them." Many of the reasons MDTA and ARA training had not reached this target population were already understood. These deficiencies included clustering of projects around certain local employment service offices and vocational schools; lack of success in motivating the hard-core unemployed to participate in training; restrictive application of the "reasonable expectation of employment" requirement by considering job demand on a local rather than regional basis; and limited involvement in community resources and manpower activities, partly attributable to the lack of knowledge on the part of employers and interested citizens of the full potential of human resource development.

However, the project staff uncovered other reasons for the program's not reaching the hard core. The folk of the mountain subculture have uniquenesses in their value system that have to be either overcome or used in constructing programs of manpower development. Often programs have been planned and administered with lack of understanding and sympathy for the values which are the basis of the subculture. The project also learned that while those administering MDTA and ARA training think of it as an employment or manpower program, the recipients of the program in many cases think of it as a welfare program. Many individuals have been convinced to join a training program not to become employed, but in order to receive the training allowance. This has been justified, both in Washington and at the local level, by saying that these people need help and funds to get them through the winter. This is, of course, true, but the hard-core have become confused about the real purposes of the program and now have begun to look at it not as a way to a job but just a temporary way to get some money. It is becoming a norm in the area where the hard-core dis-

*Yesterday's People by Jack E. Weller published in 1965 by the University of Kentucky Press and the Council of the Southern Mountains is helpful to those people interested in understanding this subculture.

One-room Appalachian school

advantaged expect that they will have to attend classes, either basic education or technical training, to get the payments that their families need. But few have had any experience that says this training or basic education leads to anything, anything but the next phase of welfare existence.

The contract stated that the project "shall also attempt to develop and refine prospective methods and techniques for reaching the hard-core unemployed living in areas where dependency has become the accepted community and individual norm." The project staff has been largely disappointed in its ability to do anything really significant in this area. The staff had little success actually getting those who most needed it into on-going MDTA and ARA training programs with the possible exception of Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, discussed in Chapter IV. The agency personnel were in agreement that this was a problem that needed to be solved, but they already had long waiting lists of individuals trying to get into programs. These individuals had to be served before they could concentrate on the hard-core group.

Early in the project we began by going out and finding hard-core individuals who were unaware of the training programs. We either took them or convinced them to go to the employment office, in an effort to get them enrolled in a training course. One staff member took forty individuals, but only one of these actually was enrolled in a training course. Another staff member had some success by arranging with the employment office to replace those who dropped out of courses with hard-core individuals he would find. This was done by setting up appointments with the ES for these individuals, providing transportation, being sure that the actual interview did take place and following it through until the individual actually was enrolled in a course and then seeking to solve other problems that arose with his family or with the course. This staff man was able to get some Negroes enrolled in training projects in an area where few had been enrolled before. But in general we decided early in our contract this gad fly approach was a negligible effort.

It was with the advent of the Economic Opportunity Act programs and with their insistence on the involvement and participation of the hard core, both in the design and administration of the community action effort, that we began to see a new hope for reaching this target population. When manpower training becomes part of the community action program, you gain the means to solve a number of other problems that must be solved before an individual becomes employable. Also through the preference component under the the EOA the official county community action agency is able at least in theory to coordinate manpower development programs with the other programs of the community action effort.

The project was also to demonstrate that "the regional approach of a non-governmental program to manpower programs reinforces the present public agency activities." The Manpower Project staff wrestled with the concept of the regional approach but found no one took it seriously in the area of human resource development. The Appalachian Governors' Commission in the area of natural and physical development had some success with the regional approach, at least as they planned road corridors. However, the established agencies in the field of human resource development are organized completely on a state by state basis.

The mountain counties quite often find themselves stepchildren to the more prosperous counties in the other parts of the state. For example, Jonesville, the county seat of Lee County, Virginia, is nearer eight other state capitals than it is to Richmond and has a very difficult time in getting the agency people in Richmond really aware of the problems in Lee County. Most of the established agency programs are headquartered in state capitals outside the Appalachian area. The experience of the project indicated that a regional approach made sense in the area, but we were unable to really affect the existing state approach in any way. In one case with Iron Mountain Stoneware Company in Laurel Bloomery, Tennessee, (our experience with this company will be discussed in more depth in Chapter

III), the trainees who came across the state line from Virginia to Tennessee where the plant is located did have their training allowances paid though they were taking training outside the state. In spite of the fact that the Council of the Southern Mountains has for 50 years encouraged a regional awareness, the Iron Mountain contract was our only experience in accomplishing anything across state lines.

The contract states that by specially orienting and training a staff of regional manpower workers and "by utilizing the maximum resources of the Council and its supporting groups, the project will effectively reach into rural areas with manpower programs in the following respects: to assist the local and state employment service in selection, job development and placement; to organize or arrange for subsidiary services needed by some MDTA or ARA trainees such as day care and health services; to stimulate local individuals and organizations to seek solutions to manpower problems by bringing manpower technical assistance to remote areas of Appalachia where no manpower programs exist; and to develop and test a series of community action plans for manpower programs which can ultimately be used throughout southern Appalachian region."

As has been said, the manpower project had very limited success in assisting the local or state employment service in reaching the hard-core unemployed. However, the Manpower Project found the other programs in which the Council was engaged very significant and helpful in the effort to bring manpower development to remote isolated areas. In eastern Kentucky the Appalachian Volunteers, college-age young people, were working up the hollows and creek beds in the most remote and isolated of communities. This gave the Council a means to learn what life in these areas is really like and to become aware of what it would take to really reach these individuals effectively. The Council also had the responsibility during the time of the Manpower Project to train VISTA volunteers who were to work in the Appalachian area. As part of the training for these VISTAs who would be living in many communities all over the region and working for schools, county government, and community action programs, we tried to be sure that they understood the problems and the possibilities of manpower development. These VISTAs who have now been assigned have kept a constant dialogue going with us in the Manpower Project as we sought to reach the people in the isolated areas where the VISTAs work. Another Council program, the Community Action Technician project, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity serves in concert with the Manpower Project to make manpower development a reality to those who need the programs most, the poor.

These other programs of the Council served not only to reach those individuals up the hollows, but also to keep our staff abreast of the conditions and articulated needs of these individuals. This was invaluable supplement to the orientation and training we had in Washington with the different agencies with which we would be working.

With this background our staff worked in different ways. One worked closely with the Welfare Director, one with home visitors (a component of a community action program), and one with community action projects which were seeking to truly involve the hard core.

"The mountaineer can spend time with a clear conscience."

— Jack Weller

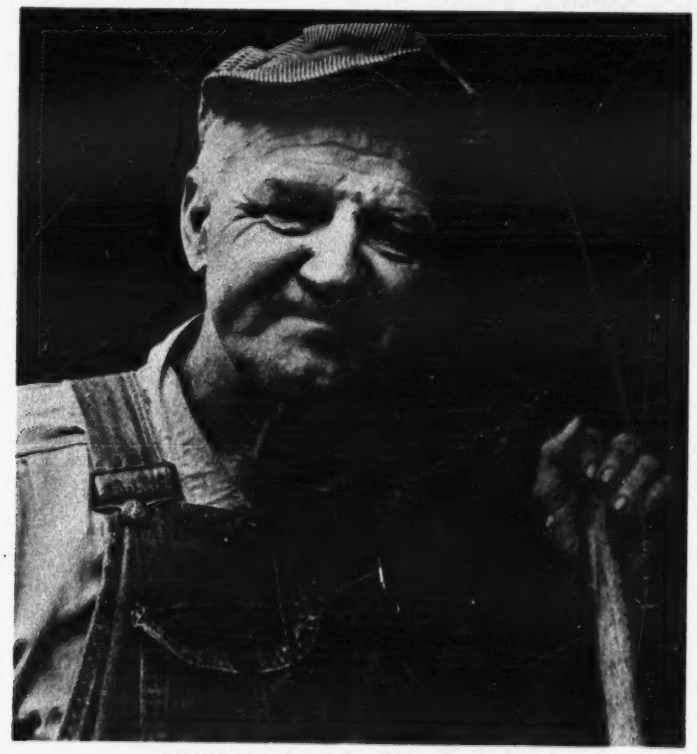


Photo Billy Edd Wheeler

This latter project was in Blackey, a section of Letcher County, Kentucky. In it the CAP sought to organize a section of the county which consisted mostly of hollows, creek beds, and one small community and to work with the people to develop a program based on their expressed needs and run by them. The project which grew out of this effort has recently been funded for over $200,000. There is little doubt that the most effective way of reaching hard core and providing the means to solve the impediments to their employability is through true community action.

Another interesting point here is what has been called the Blackey approach. In the idea's envisioning stage, someone wondered what would happen if a team composed of staff people of the Council, the Kentucky OEO office, the federal OEO office and the University of Kentucky were to move into the Blackey community at the invitation of the CAP to mobilize all available resources. This was what was done and the Blackey project is the result.

And there is little doubt of the importance of the roles of such people as the Appalachian Volunteers, the VISTAs, or the regional manpower workers. Through our efforts several remote communities have manpower programs and have some of the necessary supportive services. Many others will have them in the near future.

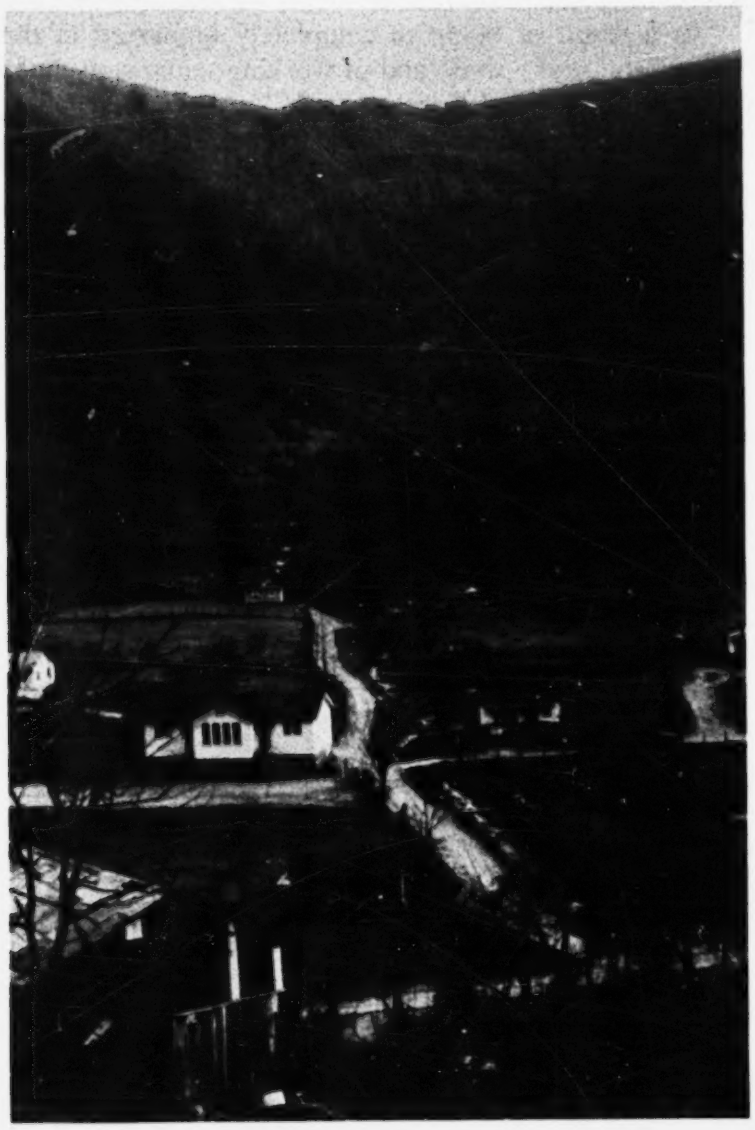
The project was to seek to discover if an "on-the-job training program could be developed in remote rural areas." Few places are more remote or more rural than Laurel Bloomery, Tennessee. And the project's experience there with OJT was one of the most hopeful. We found the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training eager to help us develop programs that would and could effectively reach the most disadvantaged of the labor force. In Chapter IV we will go more into detail on some examples of OJT.

The contract called for the Manpower Project to seek to develop "effective, local community organizations and broad citizen participation with technical assistance provided by the regional manpower worker as an effective method of evolving appropriate solutions to manpower problems such as community manpower planning and development of MDTA institutional and OJT programs." The project spent a major portion of its time working on this section of the contract and, as has been said earlier, came to the conclusion that this was the key to the manpower solution in the area. There are some unsolved conflicts here however, in that the fractured approach — that is each agency going it alone — is still the norm and until we can combine these programs and focus them through the community action effort, the target of the hard core will be missed again. However, this approach is the only approach that is practical. There are jobs, there are unmet needs, there is money to pay to have the needs met. To reach this goal, however, the total community must be involved in finding the solution to the manpower problem. The programs cannot be planned at the state capital and sent in capsule form to regional vocational schools or employment offices for implementation but must grow from the felt needs of the community. In Chapter II we will cite some examples where this has been done successfully.

The project was to seek to get the "participation of numbers of citizens in recruitment of trainees, thus enhancing the potential success of large scale training programs . . . by reaching many among the hard-core unemployed who have the intelligence and ability to successfully complete skill training courses but who will not participate without the support and personal encouragement and assistance of these with whom they have some identification." We found this assumption in the contract to be valid and in keeping with what we learned about the mountain folk culture, and we found that the ongoing regular training programs have not met this need. Before we will reach the hard-core unemployed, we feel we will have to accomplish this end. There are now examples where remote community organization has taken place under the efforts of the EOA and where other funded programs such as day care are going on in the county which could provide some of the necessary support for trainees from the hard core. Where VISTAs have moved into communities they have been able to identify enough with the people to provide some motivation for training and skill improvement. So we now have many possibilities for providing the support and encouragement to the trainee who needs it. But as yet we know of no examples in the area where it has been possible to give this support to trainees from the hard core who are in institutional training courses.

The Manpower Project was also obligated to conduct a two-day manpower conference between the fourth and seventh months of the contract. The staff gave great consideration to the possibilities in the conference. It was decided that more benefit could be gained by seeking to accomplish the same ends in a slightly different way.

The conference was to seek to bring together to talk about manpower problems representatives of all the interested public and private, state and local agencies in the eight state area, including those who had participated in programs stimulated by the regional manpower workers and anyone else who might be interested



A hollow

in developing manpower programs. The conference, first, was to be structured so it could "disseminate the preliminary results of the manpower program to interested parties and to assess the initial methods utilized by the project by allowing the regional manpower workers to report on their findings." Second, it was to "encourage the expansion of services, development of training programs, and utilization of new methods of recruiting, counseling and training." Third, it was to "augment or develop the contemplated scope of the project as well as to stimulate additional projects." And fourth, it was to "allow interested public and private agencies to share in the experience of the regional manpower workers, thereby coordinating their efforts with a large number of public and private agencies involved." We met the demands of this section of the contract with three conferences rather than with one. The project was started with a manpower conference that involved most of the OMAT E and D contractors along with other interested participants from the area. Second, the Annual Conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains meeting in Chattanooga, Tennessee, involving federal, state and local officials, agency and school personnel, and many private citizens put emphasis on the manpower problems of the area, both in general sessions and in small group discussions. The work of the Council's Manpower Project was discussed and shared with others and was affected by their response. And third, the Manpower Project directed two and shared in the direction of a third workshop for community action directors employed by community action programs in the Appalachian South. At each one of these two-week long workshops a full day was given to the specific problems of manpower development. It is the opinion of the Council's Manpower Project staff that the desired accomplishments of the manpower conference were met better through these three separate meetings. By using an established conference rather than starting a new one and by having workshops that were not of a study and discussion nature but of an action orientation we accomplished the ends desired by the contract and made a real contribution to a broader understanding of the manpower problem as it relates to action programs.

Our desire to alter our contract slightly as it related to the manpower conference is an example of the difficulties we experienced with OMAT during the months of the contract. We went ahead and made this change without adequate conversations with OMAT, but we feel that it is important to mention the problem the Manpower Project had in communicating with the Office of Manpower Automation and Training. During the month of November, 1964, the Council's manpower staff spent several days in Washington getting to understand what the Special Projects Branch of OMAT hoped would come from our efforts in this area. The project director had long discussions with the Chief of Special Programs, his project officer, and the individual on the special programs staff responsible for all reports. This communication went very well; in depth understanding was achieved. There were no questions on either side as to what we both hoped would come of the project. After the project began its field work many staff changes began to take place within the Special Programs Branch of OMAT. The Council's Manpower Project was not kept abreast of these changes in writing or even in formal verbal communication. We were not told who our new project officer was to be. We were not told that any changes in reporting should be made. We, of course, continued to work as though nothing had happened and on the basis of our previous agreements. Near the end of the contract we received verbal communication from OMAT saying we were not doing the things they wanted us to do and not reporting them in the form they wanted them reported. We are fully aware of the problems and understand the situation that the Special Programs Branch was in. We feel,

however, that it would be wise for the Department of Labor to keep in mind what we learned in our OJT experience, which is that the most important part of contracting is the servicing and follow up to the contractor. When changes occur within the Department of Labor which affect the contract into which the Department has entered, it is the Department's responsibility to so notify the contractor. The Department of Labor in the future should be sure that adequate resources are available to service the contracts that they enter into with outside agencies.

As a result of being so completely immersed in the fray of the year's work and of working many sixty-hour weeks, our feeling is one of both fatigue and pride at having met the objectives of our contract. We probably ought to feel satisfied and content. But during the year we turned up so many possibilities for further and new efforts and came to see that the year's work was such a small beginning for what had yet to be accomplished in this area that we find ourselves instead excited about and anxious to test some new ideas and to work in some yet unexplored areas. It was really only a start.

Connor photo

Men from the surrounding county look to county seat for necessary services — and for catching up on talk.

Chapter II

Manpower Implications of the Economic Opportunity Act

At the time this project was conceived, there was no Economic Opportunity Act. It was during the negotiations for this contract that the hearings, debate, and passage of the bill took place. It was during the time of hiring and staffing of our project that the possibilities of the bill for this area first began to be realized and that OEO began to get set up to carry out the various titles. So while our contract made no assumptions about the economic opportunity program, and theoretically we could have operated completely apart from it, this would have been in actual practice unrealistic and foolish — unrealistic because the area of manpower was one of the big concerns of the EOA and of each title and because the Act provided some new tools to help solve the manpower problems of the rural mountain areas.

At the request of OEO, at a meeting between OMAT and this project's director in November, 1964, it was decided that we would work closely with OEO and encourage programs under the new Act whenever possible, giving technical assistance to communities to help them develop, write and negotiate proposals.

State economic opportunity offices were either nonexistent or brand new and staffed with a few individuals who were groping for direction. Washington OEO was not equipped to deal effectively with the thousands of requests they were receiving on what and how and why programs could be begun. Our project had been well publicized by the Council throughout Appalachia. So we had been established in the field offices only a short time before many people both in the power structures and outside began asking our assistance. And we gave it. Our help covered every title of the Act and reached countless individuals. Much of the employment and manpower training resulting from the EOA and now in existence in the mountain counties of Kentucky, Tennessee, southwest Virginia, and West Virginia is a direct result of the work of the staff of this project.

TITLE I — *Youth Programs*

TITLE IA — *Job Corps*

One of the most important groups within the target population of our project was that large group of youth who comprise the hard core unemployed between 16 and 21 years of age. Previous legislation had deliberately been designed without them and several E and D projects had been conceived to try to meet their specific needs. The Job Corps as envisioned seemed at least part of the answer to the plight of those thousands of youth who were mired in the problems of rural mountain communities. Certainly they were "hard-core unemployed youth" who needed "broad and diversified training programs, vocational guidance and counseling, remedial education, job development and placement." The vocational schools of the area had little hope of taking them and many of them were ineligible for all existing programs.

The little actual recruiting we did was informal — leaving posters and post cards at country stores and out of the way centers in our travels, obtaining and showing films for interested groups and answering the questions which resulted, trying to see that those individuals in the counties who came into constant contact with the target young people were aware of the procedures and followup necessary to get young people on the lists. Knowing early in the year what the situation was with Job Corps recruiting and how many more applications had been received than were being effectively processed, we did no mass recruiting. But one of the results of opening an office in a small community with the stated purpose of working with unemployed people is to encourage many people to come in and ask for help. This was the primary way in which we met the 114 young people, mostly boys, whom we counseled as individuals and referred to the Job Corps. Only two were accepted. Every one needed the opportunity Job Corps can offer.

Our experience with the Job Corps was one of the more frustrating of the project. We had the names of young people willing and eager to take the major steps toward getting out of their predicament, and we had exhausted all other possibilities for them. But in spite of our working with the Employment Service, of taking the young people for interviews, of collecting as much pertinent information as we could to submit to ES, we were able to bend the system in only three cases, two in the Pikeville, Tennessee, area. The technique being used in the selection of applicants for the Job Corps disregards many of the implications which result from their being "hard core."

For example, in eastern Tennessee, one of the staff members went with a young man to the ES office to see what could be done about speeding up his case. While there he was told that of the twelve boys who had sent in post cards and who had been called to fill out applications and take tests, not one had shown up. The ES office director explained that this was all right with him and probably with the Job Corps as well because they had more applications than they could take care of. The staff member asked to be notified of the names of the boys as they came in so that he could contact them and arrange transportation. He asked also for the names of the twelve boys who had failed to respond. With the help of the Welfare Director in the county, he contacted several of the boys and learned that since neither the boys nor their families could read the formal letter from Washington telling them to report to the Employment Security office meant little, and what little it did mean was frightening. However, there was no followup at all to the letter on the part of the ES office.

In another experience in eastern Kentucky, the ES office called us when it learned that the Job Corps wanted thirty Job Corps enrollees from their area. We sent the twenty names we already had and added more in a few days. In talking with the young men about the interview after they returned, we realized that few were going to be accepted, but not because they were unable to meet the four necessary criteria of the thirteen possible. They would be rejected either because they did not understand such questions as "Do you live in sub-standard housing?" or because they had too much pride or hesitated to answer yes to such questions as "Do you waste your time or are you a loafer?" In spite of our going with the young men to the office and urging their acceptance with ES, only one of them was accepted in a Job Corps camp. That one, Bobby Phillips, is the subject of a case study in the Appendix of this report.

Out of the frustrating experience of each of the staff members grew a realization that the system was so constructed that few if any of the young people who needed the opportunity most had any hope of receiving the chance. A member of our staff drafted a project in which the Council, working through its membership and its field staff, especially Appalachian Volunteers and VISTAs, would recruit, select and refer 800 Job Corps enrollees to camp within a twelve month period. These enrollees would be dropouts, lack marketable skills, have shown delinquent behavior or have been subject to the worst of an impoverished environment. The project would provide for supportive services during selection and referral, and followup with both the family and enrollee while he was in camp. We were encouraged by the Job Corps to continue work on the proposal but, in addition to being quite busy with our present contract, we were discouraged by the lack of success of the camps in trying to work with those real hard core enrollees they did have. The proposal is still awaiting attention by the Council and the Job Corps.

The concept of the Job Corps has much to offer the unemployed youth who needs broad and intensive help if he is to become employable. But the experience of this year with the 114 applicants and several Corpsmen has led us to the conclusion that the Job Corps is not equipped to deal with those who need it most, either in selection or training.

TITLE IB — *Work Training or Neighborhood Youth Corps*

This program, designed for those young people ill prepared for employment, from impoverished families, and who were for economic reasons either recent dropouts or were potential dropouts, was particularly important in the rural areas in which we worked. The young persons in these rural areas are needed many times to help carry on the family functions such as gardening and helping with the younger children. They are tied to the family and hesitant about breaking away. NYC offered them an opportunity to learn a meaningful

skill and at the same time earn money to help them stay in school or return to school, or help with family expenses, all without making the drastic break which the Job Corps requires.

Our project performed four roles in assisting counties develop NYC projects:

1. We initially encouraged and helped four county school superintendents and one community action program develop and negotiate NYC proposals which involved 850 young people. Aside from working out the technical difficulties encountered, our major contribution was to interpret the reasoning behind the $1.25 an hour wage requirement. Rural areas were unaccustomed to such wages and objected to paying young people higher wages than many adults were receiving. We stressed the necessity for incorporating counseling into the project in an effort to encourage saving or helping with the family's expenses or using the money to stay in school. There were very, very few problems in the communities resulting from unwise use of money.

2. We worked with these five counties and many others in encouraging the schools to make the jobs in the program meaningful and real training experiences, rather than menial jobs which meant only a few extra dollars a week. We were not entirely successful in this effort, but several counties sought our help and we were successful in helping them find challenging training positions.

3. We encouraged the NYC programs to become an integral part of the overall community action effort. Though there are cases where this was done, there are several examples where we were not successful; one school superintendent for example will not release several of the NYC trainees to work in the CAP effort.

4. We worked with the school systems which were running the NYC programs to help them include recent dropouts, especially in the summer programs. Many school officials feel that dropouts are no longer the school's problem. We were successful in convincing several of them to broaden the program to include dropouts as well as potential dropouts.

There were some discouraging notes in our efforts. NYC seems to have been largely an urban effort last year. One of our staff developed and wrote the proposal for NYC programs for three counties in Tennessee to involve 800 young people. The proposal was never funded because the several urban ones had used all the available money. Only two rural projects in that state were approved.

TITLE IC — *Work Study*

Work study is another very important program to the young people of Appalachia. It represents one of the best ways out, the best hope of becoming employable. Colleges in this area have struggled for years to find the money to assist students to stay in school. The colleges recognize that education can be the key to a job that is worthwhile and challenging and the students themselves recognize it, too. But for many the financial problems of staying in school have been insurmountable.

The project's work with this program has been in two areas:

1. Each staff member talked with and encouraged the colleges in his geographic area to make the program available to their students. Over 80% of them have done so. We urged them to be creative in developing and envisioning possible jobs for the students so that they might be training experiences and so that they might benefit both the community and the students. Our experience is that the colleges have done a better job than the high schools in selecting jobs to be done and that in general the jobs are meaningful and the training valuable. We encouraged the colleges also to consider the total community action effort and seek to integrate their program with it. However, many of them have developed jobs which serve the college rather than the poor of the community.

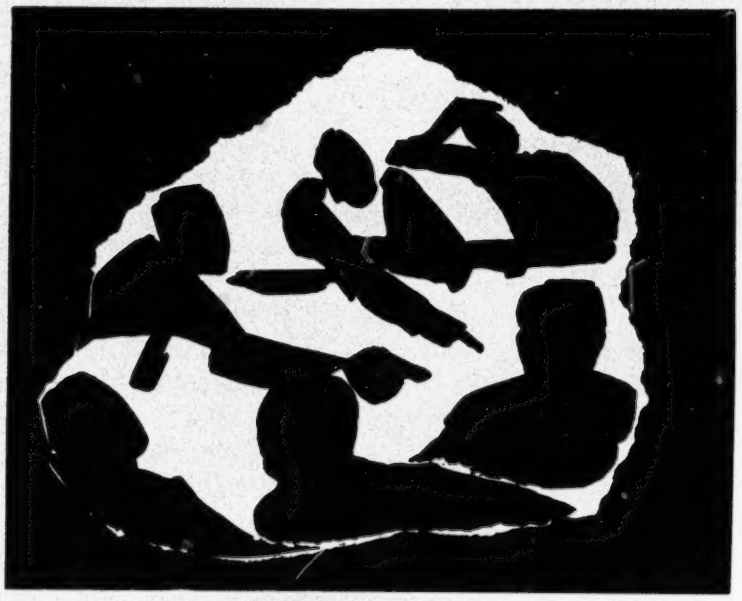
2. Two of the colleges we assisted in developing, writing and negotiating proposals under the work-study program were Alice Lloyd and Prestonsburg Community College.

Alice Lloyd College, located in Pippa Passes, Kentucky, has a school enrichment and recreational program for elementary school age children in the area surrounding the college. Sixty Alice Lloyd students, all in great need of financial help in order to complete their education, are engaged in the program.

Prestonsburg Community College, an extension of the University of Kentucky, had thirty openings in their work study program. We were able to develop and assist them in working out the details of a plan for thirty high school graduates from the West Liberty community in nearby Morgan County. These students, who were capable and eager to go on to college, according to their high school teachers, would be transported by school bus to Prestonsburg each day for classes and work and then home again in the evening. We feel certain that none of these thirty would have gone on to college except for the opportunity afforded by this work-study project.

The results of this program are almost impossible to measure. There is little doubt, however, that the employability of these ninety young people will be dramatically affected by these programs.

The thrust of Title I is toward solving the specific problems of the youth. Since the young people in Appalachia are very likely to inherit the poverty of their fathers, the programs of Title I have much to offer in the attempt to break the cycle. Our project sought to challenge the leaders of the area to effectively use the programs to this end.



TITLE II — *Community Action*

This section of the Act is filled with possibilities for manpower programs. One of the five areas of concern of community action is employment with all its implications. There was little question that our project should relate to community action and that efforts in community action were extremely important to what we were trying to do. But we were unsure as to exactly what path we should follow.

We explored the area of the manpower component early in the project. What should be included in one for a rural mountain community? What should be its thrust? How should it work? But we became troubled by the fact that the very idea of a canned manpower component to be either sold to or imposed on a citizens' group was contrary to the idea of community action. Besides we weren't sure that we or anyone else had anything surefire enough to campaign for.

We were convinced that the maximum feasible participation phrase in the Act was a key one. We were also convinced that community action had to grow and develop within the counties and within the minds of the people within those counties and communities.

So we decided to start at the beginning, with where the counties were in community action. We found them either completely inactive or in the throes of developing program development proposals to send to Washington. But we soon discovered that much of the time there was no relationship between community action and program development proposals. The poor were not involved in the planning of programs, the programs themselves were so designed that the poor were still in their traditional role of recipients of services, and many of the hard core poor were still completely left out. Involvement of the poor — to the point of listening to an unemployed father tell about his problems when you thought you knew what he needed — is a very difficult concept to swallow for most rural mountain county leaders. And they are not alone. But gradually we got partial acceptance and gradually counties were funded with program development grants, twenty-six from our direct efforts, among them the first in Kentucky.

These were as follows:

Tennessee — the Sequatchie Valley Development Association including Sequatchie, Bledsoe and Marion counties and the multi-county organization including Johnson, Carter, and Unicoi counties.

Kentucky — Bell, Boyd, Breathitt, Clay, Floyd, Harlan, Jackson, Knox, Leslie, Knott, Letcher (including the funded program at Blackey), Madison, Perry and Wolfe counties; Northeast Area Development Council including Greenup, Lewis, Carter, Morgan, Rowan, Elliott; Big Sandy Area Development Council including Pike, Floyd, Lawrence, Johnson, Magoffin, Martin; Upper Kentucky River including Perry, Knott, Letcher and Leslie; West Lake Cumberland Valley including Menifee, Fleming, Beth, Montgomery; East Lake Cumberland Valley including Rockcastle, Laurel, Clay, Bell, Whitley, Knox, Harlan, Jackson.

Virginia — Dickenson-Buchanan, Lee, Russell, Scott, Tazewell, and Wise counties.

West Virginia — Grant, Mingo, and Pendleton counties with Upshur awaiting funding.

The next step was recruiting and hiring community action directors and once again the counties turned to us for help. As a result of our experience the Council was funded by OEO to recruit and train community action technicians and to train the program developers hired by the counties. Many of these latter people were native to the county and desperately needed training in the facts of the poverty legislation and programs as well as in the attitudes of working with the poor. Most even needed convincing that working with the poor was indeed their job. In these training workshops our project spent much time discussing the necessity of involving the target population in programs and in acquainting them with programs available under the Economic Opportunity Act and other federal legislation. We were able to establish close relationships with almost all these program developers and they continue to request our help as they develop manpower ideas.

So far only a few community action programs in our area have funded manpower components. And the ones

which do exist are varied in scope and technique. We will discuss some of these later in this chapter.

During the workshops we emphasized the importance of recruiting employees from the ranks of the unemployed for the new positions available within the community action program staffs. We also had emphasized the need for thorough documentation and study into the true situation within the community. These ideas were combined so that community aides were hired by almost every CAP as sub-professionals to conduct community organization and surveying. Our staff developed the survey form now in use in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia, and by the end of the project there was a total of 170 persons employed as sub-professionals on these community action staffs. The new jobs created by community action are the first real breakthrough we have had in creating meaningful employment in twentieth century jobs for the hard core.

One of the real problems now is that there is no effective way to train these sub-professionals. Colleges and public agencies have done almost nothing in this field partly because the idea is a relatively new one and partly because professionals have been reluctant to separate their various functions.

Four of the community action programs with which we have worked and with which we have dealt about employment possibilities are Washington County, Virginia; Mingo County, West Virginia; Knox County, Kentucky; and LBJ and C in middle Tennessee. Each has a different approach to both their manpower components and their employment of the poor in sub-professional positions on the staff.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA

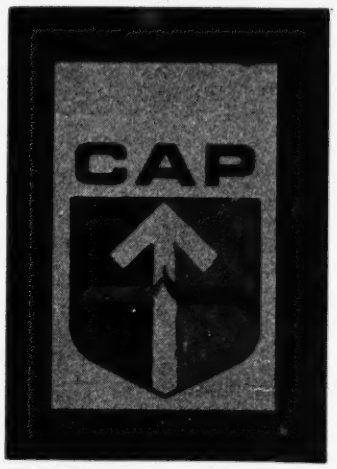
Washington County was the first rural CAP funded under the Economic Opportunity Act and has several programs under way. They were anxious to staff many of the new positions available under these new programs from within the county and hopefully from the hard core unemployed. Our project's staff man in southwest Virginia drew up an application form which was distributed to congregating points throughout the county and was well publicized. With the help of these applications many of the pre-school program's positions and many of the positions in the home visitors program were filled from within the county's unemployed.

MINGO COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

Mingo County is one of the poorest counties in West Virginia. Funded early for program development, their CAP hired a director and assistant director who were trained in our workshop and with whom we have worked very closely. We have been able to assist them in working out a plan whereby thirty-four unemployed men receiving allowances under Title V were assigned to the community action staff for community organization and development and surveying in depth the whole county to discover the real incidence of poverty, unemployment and program needs. These thirty-four men constituted a manpower component in themselves for their jobs were all new both to the county and to them. At the same time they did the sub-professional work necessary to develop other manpower components which will be the result of true community action. One of the men working under Title V commented, "At age 40 I have for the first time in my life found a really challenging job." He has been voluntarily working sixteen hours a day at it. After three months all but six of the WE&T men were reassigned to other county agencies when the surveying was complete.

KNOX COUNTY, KENTUCKY

We have been able to assist Knox County in coming close to realizing the potential of its multi-service centers, an attempt to get together in one spot all the services which the poor have need of and to do this within their own small communities. The service centers are staffed with previously unemployed members of the community itself who will be trained to work with their own community in both meeting their own needs through existing programs and in developing other programs to meet the needs they see. There are eleven multi-service centers in the county now employing just under 200 people in the new jobs they have created.



LBJ AND C, TENNESSEE

This multi-county community action organization is composed of Overton, Fentress, Putnam, Jackson and Cumberland counties in the Dale Hollow area of Tennessee. We have worked extensively with the staff of this CAP to develop an OJT manpower component; the CAP itself is the prime contractor. We have

assisted them in surveying over two hundred potential employers, had meetings with state and regional BAT field men, and worked with them in developing and writing the proposal. We have encouraged them in planning for extensive supportive services to the trainees and their families, utilizing all the servces and facilities of the CAP's other programs.

This year's experience in working with community action has shown the possibilities for manpower development to be even greater than we had imagined at the beginning. In many cases rural mountain counties in order to bring new jobs to the area had to sell their souls to the new industry and then expect that the greatest benefit to the county would probably be realized from the income of these persons who moved into the county with the industry. Community action however has been able to create new and meaningful jobs within the county which can be filled by the sub-professionals from that same county and who in turn are working to meet the needs of other hard core unemployed within the county to upgrade their employability. The whole thrust of community action is toward the county and its whole effect is felt there.

It is impossible to foresee from this vantage point the number of new jobs which will be created by the community action efforts. But it is possible to predict that once the services are available in health, public facilities, education, recreation and welfare and become as much a part of the rural mountain scene as they are a part of the middle class urban or suburban picture, they will not be discontinued. It is almost certain that the twentieth century job will be a service one. It is very possible that through community action rural mountain areas are moving into the twentieth century without ever having experienced the mid-nineteenth. Be that as it may, the manpower implications of community development are only now beginning to be realized.

TITLE IIB — *Adult Basic Education*

One of the major problems in rural areas with helping persons become employable is that of overcoming their lack of years of schooling. The mental isolation which results from an inability to read and write well enough to keep up with and participate in the surrounding culture inevitably leads to alienation from that culture. General figures on illiteracy are available for most of the large areas in Appalachia, but few of them probably accurately indicate the high illiteracy rate in many of the smaller rural communities; eighty percent would not be unusual. So there was little doubt that the adult education programs were vitally necessary to our target hard core people.

Our project worked in two ways to promote programs under this section.

1. A state plan had to be approved before local communities could participate in the federally funded program which was to supplement existing overall state programs which were inadequate and in many mountain areas nonexistent. Therefore, our effort was to encourage the states first of all to draw up plans and secondly to make them workable in rural as well as urban areas. Kentucky's plan was approved early and West Virginia's also. Tennessee's came later but is workable. At the end of this project, Virginia's was still pending, but this project had a great deal to do with the fact that there was one this far along in Virginia. Through working with the Office of Education, the Richmond state office, interested local officials, mainly in southwest Virginia, radio and TV stations, and finally with CAP directors, increasing pressure was brought on Richmond to develop the plan. We are still working to make the developing plan one which will be so structured that it can be used in rural areas. This, along with Title V in Virginia, has been one of the real crusades of the project.

2. Since a number of communities in the counties in which we were working wanted to begin some adult education before the state plan was approved, we were able to assist the communities in developing their plan on a small scale and in getting it funded by the Ford Foundation grant of the Council until the program could be picked up by the state. Through doing this we were also able to work with the communities in seeking methods and materials suitable for hard core adults and in relating the education to possible employment. Sixty-four adults participated in the program in Pikeville, Tennessee; one of the men was fifty-seven years old.

Another project has been recently funded under the Council's Ford grant, this one in Virginia, but it is not yet underway.

Isolation in Appalachia is more than geographic. Learning to read and write is one step toward opportunity.

PROJECT HEADSTART

The Headstart program was the result of a desire to get a program started quickly which would involve the target population and which, hopefully at least, counties would be more or less equipped to carry out without a great deal of long range planning and training. In our project we had to decide whether or not we were going to become involved in this program since it was not strictly within our realm of concern. But we decided to advise counties as they wrote their proposals and help them negotiate the proposals for three reasons:

1. The idea of public kindergartens was a relatively new one, both to middle class families and to poor ones. They are non-existent in the rural areas, but we felt that some experience with even a short term kindergarten might well create demand on part of the whole community, which would create new subprofessional jobs for many unemployed people.
2. No one else in some of the rural counties was going to promote the idea of Headstart and yet when the staff mentioned the idea within these counties, there was much interest.
3. While our target population was youth and adult and Headstart's was young children, many of our target families were the same. Almost anything which could be done to help keep the children from being caught in the same mesh of poverty as were their parents would be helpful.

We did not do a great deal of promotional work, but mentioned the program in the counties where we were working. Other counties heard of the program on their own and asked our assistance in preparing proposals. In those counties where we worked closely with the sponsoring agency in getting Headstart underway, over 2250 children participated.

The results were interesting. Communities became acutely aware of the tremendous problems which the poor face. The health exams given the children revealed shockingly high rates of disease and ill health and disabilities among these young children. Teachers became aware of the extreme isolation in which the children lived and the lack of facilities available to them — such things as books and pictures, as well as eating utensils and other basics. Parents of the children approved the program and expressed desires for its continuance. Transportation difficulties were worked out. So Headstart in addition to benefitting the children stimulated some of the communities to community action programs.

As a result we have been able to encourage counties to consider kindergarten, preschool, or day care centers in their community action programs, with aides drawn from the target population. Headstart definitely encouraged them in this direction.

TITLE III — *Special Programs*

We see many possibilities in this section for alleviating the manpower problems in Appalachia. The staff discussed with numbers of groups and individuals the provisions of Title III, especially in relation to diversifying agricultural operations so that they might become businesses employing more than the immediate family. Cooperatives, storage facilities, and marketing facilities were the subject of some of the more interested inquirers. But no applications of this nature were actually filed to our knowledge.

In certain sections of Appalachia we see small, private businesses formed to further the interests and solve the problems of people of that immediate area as one of the answers. And certainly loans to enable such businesses or diversification to occur will be a real help. Though loans have been made in Appalachia to individuals under this Title, none were made that we promoted or that have real manpower implications.

Seeking out individuals and encouraging them in setting up cooperatives could not be one of our main interests due to lack of time. But there are provisions for such loans, there are real needs for such co-ops in Appalachia, and there is some interest. The formation of needed co-ops could provide numbers of jobs in small isolated communities for long-term unemployed people.

TITLE IV — *Employment and Investment Incentives*

In this section of the bill also we see from our experience in this project real possibilities for creating new jobs in rural areas. We were particularly interested in encouraging private businesses that planned to *do* things, to perform needed services as yet not existent in the rural mountain areas, rather than businesses that

emphasize production of goods. Such service businesses operate on a small margin of profit and of course the cheapest possible loan helps in either the formation of the business or its expansion.

Our concern in this project was to make the Small Business Development Committee idea feasible in rural mountain areas. We worked extensively with state OEO offices, particularly Kentucky's, to detail such a plan. We encouraged using existing multi-county community action organizations rather than the setting up of entirely different county units. We worked closely with individual CAPs in attempts to set up SBDCs. The requirements for a population base are too large for most county CAPs, but attempts are still being made in states other than Kentucky to make the idea feasible where counties are not joined in area councils.

Some specific cases in which we worked with industries in securing SBA loans — or not securing them — are detailed in Chapter V.

It was very discouraging in this area to cultivate the interest of CAPs and businesses in SBDCs and then learn that no more money was available for actual loans from SBA. As a result, nothing has actually happened with SBDCs in our area.

Unemployed fathers earn their pay, learn skills, and begin to alleviate the need for low cost housing at Knox County Quality Homes in Eastern Kentucky.

TITLE V — *Work Experience Programs*

The geographic area in which we worked includes the thirteen pilot counties for this program — four in West Virginia and nine in eastern Kentucky. The counties' experience was known and must be understood as background for our own experience with this program.

The program was conceived as a welfare program; many people in these counties felt that men drawing welfare should be obligated to work for it, and the training was ignored. It was extremely political, with the county judge the local sponsor for the program, approving the supervisors and the workers themselves. The foremen were not skilled themselves most of the time, much less trained in the skills of training others. There were few tools, only hoes or scythes. Most of the work chosen was the kind that could be done with no additional training and the workers had learned nothing for having done it. By the time the EOA incorporated the idea of the work experience program, the workers were already the brunt of jibes and jokes throughout this area. In the one or two cases where adult education had been included it was done by teachers who had little skill or understanding of "adult education" and they used materials and methods designed for children. All in all, the program had done little to train hard core unemployed fathers to take their place in the working world with dignity and skill.

But there had been one or two examples of what the program could be. In one case a public-private school* had requested and received the assignment of six men who worked in repair and upkeep of the buildings and facilities under the supervision of a skilled maintenance man. They were looked on as employees of the school, not of the county, though they were paid by the Title V program. And the adult education was handled by a teacher of the school also who was more interested in motivating the men than most teachers in the program. In another county, it was the man in charge of the program who made the difference. He realized that if men were to change they must be motivated to learn and that involved making both the jobs and education relevant and interesting. In spite of the experience of the pilot counties and the other counties which used the program under the EOA these two examples led us to urge extension of the program with the provision that it be seen as a manpower program, not as a welfare, subsistence program.

We urged that every attempt be made to make the experience itself real: that real demands be made of the individuals in work, in time spent on the job and whenever possible in the amount of responsibility they themselves could take in the carrying out of the project and that the program not be political. And related to that

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*A unique arrangement in this area where a public county school uses the facilities and other resources of a private school, usually a settlement or mission school.

we urged that every attempt be made to make the training real: that equipment used be modern and teach something to the user (such as weed killers and tractors instead of a hoe), that the foremen be skilled in the job being performed so that his supervision was more than overseeing, and that jobs be chosen for the training they could give instead of for their menial nature.

The best example of the program's use in this way is that of hiring and training subprofessionals for community survey work mentioned in the discussion of Title II in this chapter and concerns Mingo County, West Virginia. Other counties are also following this program, which ties Title V to Title II.

If Title V ever comes to Virginia, particularly southwestern Virginia, it will be through the efforts of the staff of this project. Through inquiries, pressure, and cajoling, the attitude of Richmond has changed from "Title V is not applicable in Virginia" to "Send in proposals and we'll see what we can do." Several counties have sent in proposals, but by the end of this project none were funded.

Title V has many problems and except for some isolated examples of what it could be, the program has been very discouraging. As yet families dependent on this program are caught with having just enough income to exist and not enough to educate children or begin to rise from their poverty. But even with its problems it is at least beginning to give individuals some choice. The serfdom which once existed in the area is ebbing. A worker can at least choose between unemployed subsistence and a dank doghole mine and still eat. And the program is work centered rather than institutional training centered, which we feel is vitally necessary in this area in programs for the hard core. So perhaps some progress is being made after all.

TITLE VI — *VISTA*

The impact of VISTAs on Appalachia is almost impossible to describe, especially those assigned to rural isolated communities. The positive influence they are having on the people, the communities, the counties and the various agencies cannot be measured. The relationship of this project to the VISTA program was two-fold.

1. During this project, fourteen VISTAs were assigned to the Council and then in turn assigned to small communities. We had a continuing dialogue with them which began in their first days with the Council when we explained the mission of this project, and described

VISTAs serve as "bridges" between the world of the hollow and the world beyond.

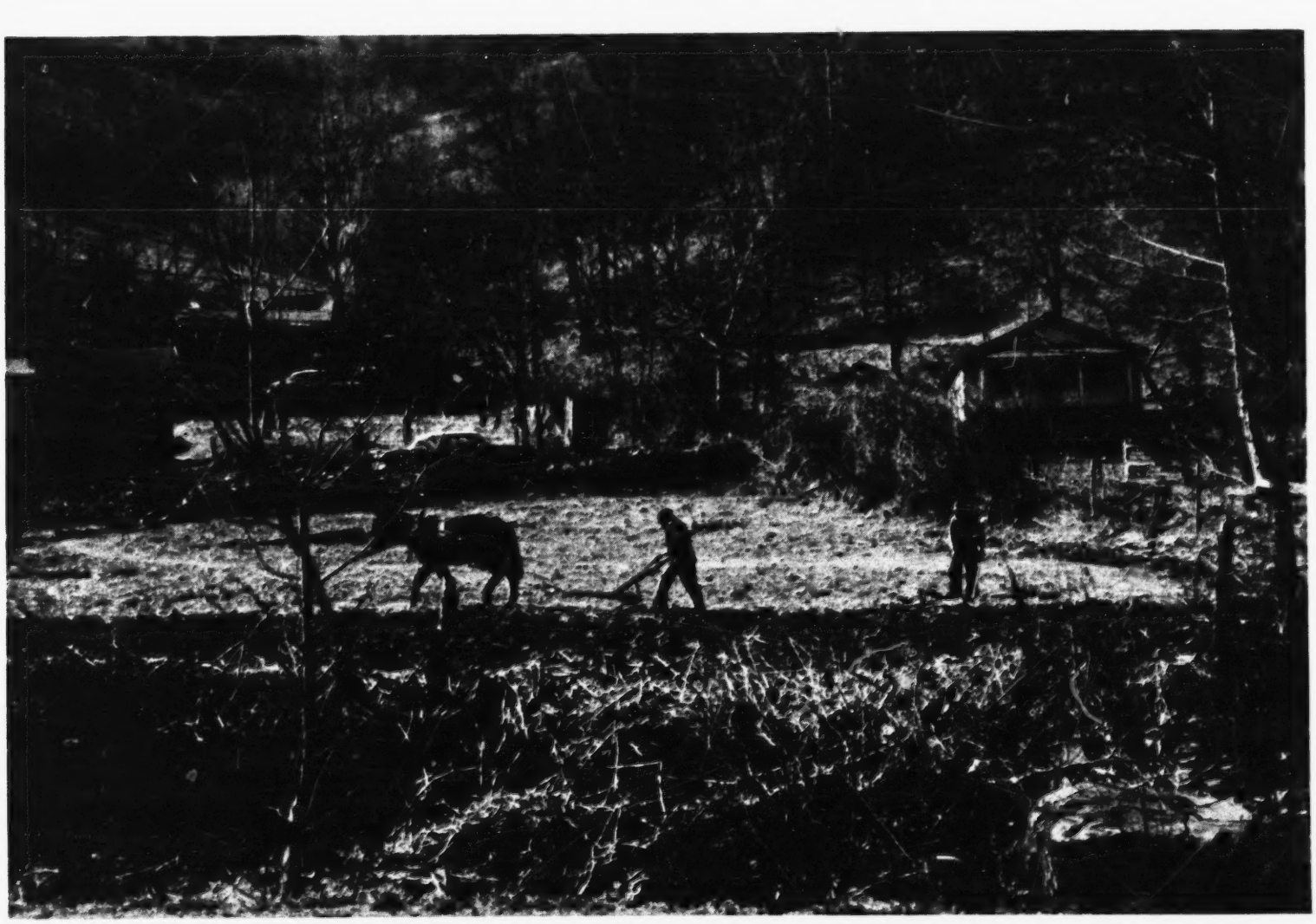
the manpower situation and possibilities as we saw them. After they had been in the field for a while they in turn described the difficulties with present programs as they existed in their areas and the real needs for manpower programs and what forms they should take as they saw the problems. The dialogue has continued and has been invaluable to us in keeping our thinking "real." They pointed out to us for example that in one county unemployed fathers had to go fifty to seventy-five miles over rough roads to get their checks; the checks could not be mailed it seemed. We feel we in turn aided them in solving some of their problems. One of the VISTAs was assigned the responsibility of manpower coordination in a going CAP and we have worked closely with her.

2. The Council, through the Appalachian Volunteers, trained just over one hundred VISTA trainees, most of whom were assigned to rural Appalachia, some with CAPs. We actively participated in the training, discussing with them the various programs and philosophies concerning manpower and suggesting what roles they might play in aiding some of the manpower solutions. One of our staff was directly responsible for the three week field training of one of these trainees.

VISTAs can make an invaluable contribution through investigating cases of individuals who are having difficulties with some of the programs or established agencies. We tried to provide them with the information necessary to make their conversations with the agencies sophisticated and informed about what could be done.

CONCLUSION

The Economic Opportunity Act has tremendous potential for helping to solve the manpower problems of Appalachia. Unfortunately one program or even one bill is not a cure-all. If an area as deeply mired in poverty as is Appalachia is to raise itself, the cycle of poverty must be lifted from its deep rut and every facet of the culture, including the economy, must reach for the higher ground. It is not an easy or simple task for an area, a county, a community or even an individual to accomplish this. But we found from this year's experience that the Economic Opportunity Act provides some helpful tools.



Chapter III

The Iron Mountain Way
The Contribution A New Industry Can Make
To The Rural Manpower Solution

This chapter was written by Tom Davis, a member of the Manpower Project. He experienced most of the process described and assisted management in designing the training program and in interviewing and counseling the more than 400 applicants and in selecting the trainees. He and others of the Manpower Staff worked with BAT and BES to get the program untangled and approved in time to make the training feasible.

Iron Mountain Stoneware never placed a help wanted ad in the county weekly or even set up a sign down on Route 91. But as the factory went up in Laurel Bloomery, Tennessee, people — over four hundred of them — stopped by to fill out applications. Iron Mountain was doing something that no other company in the area had done before: It was selecting employees on the basis of their need for work. The applicants filed through the interviewing rooms in little groups of five, patiently answering questions and not daring to hope that this finally might be a chance to find steady employment.

The management staff of the stoneware company had attended the Viriginia regional conference of the Council of the Southern Mountains in November. It was there that James Templeton, Council Job Training Specialist. announced that a manpower development contract had been awarded the Council by the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor. Under this contract, the Council was to attempt to find job opportunities for the "hard-core unemployed" — persons over thirty who generally were without high school education and who had no skills to equip them to work in modern industry. Mr. Templeton explained that the Council would open an office in Abingdon to help carry out the manpower project in the Virginia-Tennessee-North Carolina area.

The plant managers, Nancy Patterson, Lou Bauer and Albert Mock, told him about Iron Mountain's plans to produce high quality ceramic tableware using a process that was totally unfamiliar to other American pottery manufacturers. They asked if the Council could help, and were told that the Council could assist if the company would consider hiring a certain number of older persons who would ordinarily be passed over by industry. On Mr. Templeton's advice, Iron Mountain decided to apply for an on-the-job training program. This could be funded by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Labor Department if the company met all standards. Iron Mountain agreed also to select trainees from the surrounding area's hard-core unemployed. This was the beginning.

In mid-January Mr. Templeton and Tom Davis, now both on the staff of the Manpower Project, met with company managers to define problems and set goals for the program. The role of the Manpower Project broke down into four main parts: Assisting the company in seeking federal approval and funding of the training program, assisting the company in selecting trainees for the program, coordinating the services of various state and federal agencies which would administer aptitude tests and physical examinations to the applicants and, finally, coordinating the services of the State Employment Service which would certify and pay training allowances to most of the trainees.

The Manpower Project in assisting the company was not really handling anything that Iron Mountain could not have done on its own. But management had yet to order much of its equipment and raw materials, and much of the interior of the plant still remained unfinished. The plant building had been designed by Albert Mock, an architect who was still directing the interior construction. Lou Bauer, a graduate engineer with a strong background in ceramics, was busy ordering, assembling and placing the plant's equipment. Unique glazes and firing processes had been developed by Nancy Patterson while in Taipei, Formosa. Now she was rechecking old ideas and fashioning new ones for the American market.

So the Manpower Project was able to provide a very valuable service not only to the company but to the people of the area as well. In order to maintain some balance in the work force, and to form a base for later management training, it was decided that about a dozen young people with high school education would be hired and trained. The rest of the trainees, however, were to be selected without regard to education or age. Had the Manpower Project not assisted, the company might have hired a group of younger people who could adjust and learn quickly without extensive training. This would have completely missed the Manpower Project's objective of involving and employing older, less flexible people.

INTERVIEWING

"I want to thank you all for coming over here today to be interviewed. We think it's only fair to tell you that we have had 425 applications for work and, as you probably have heard, we will have room for only 45 people in the training program. If you are accepted for training this is not a guarantee of a job. We will open the plant with about fifteen workers. As we receive orders for ware we will expand our work force, but we don't want to mislead anyone or build false hopes."

Albert Mock was talking. To each new group of applicants he explained the reasons for starting with a small work force and the difficult position of Iron Mountain in trying to select trainees from such a large group of applicants. Mock explained the objectives of the company and invited questions. He made a point of telling everyone that the local turnout proved that the area had a labor pool of good, willing workers who were actively seeking employment.

In the median family income, Johnson County, Tennessee — the county in which the plant is located — ranks twelfth from the bottom of 257 counties of the Appalachian South. Two garment factories had opened in the last three years, but these had not offset the closing of a large furniture factory in nearby Damascus in the fifties. More than half of that plant's work force had come from Johnson County.

The initial screening of applicants took three days. During that time people came down out of the hollows for miles around. Each applicant had been assigned a time to report, and at regular intervals of twenty minutes a new group of five persons started through the interviewing process. These interviews are significant both for their effect on the applicants and as a guide in labor relations for they were thorough, personal and consumed an immense amount of time. The whole action combined to give the people a sense of genuine importance and real participation. In the first interview Mr. Mock carefully outlined the company's objectives and its interest not only in its product but also in the people who would produce it. The remaining sessions included an interview with a volunteer nurse who took each applicant's medical history, an interview designed to determine the applicant's need for work and, finally, a personal talk with Nancy Patterson, Lou Bauer, or Nancy's sister, Sally Patterson. This last interview was the most intensive one and covered each applicant's past work experience and his reasons for wanting to work at the plant.

My wife, Nancy, and I interviewed people to determine need for work.

"Mister, the construction I was last on finished up five weeks ago and right now I'm lookin' for a job. You know, I've lived in Johnson County all my life except for my Army time, and of all the work I've had, I've only had ten months steady work in this county. Let me tell you, you're talkin' to a man who is lookin' for a job and he'd sure be pleased to find steady work near his own home."

"Well sir, me and my wife pick beans each summer and we make right smart of cash then. But — well, during the winter I don't have anythin' steady. You know, I do chores for people and sometimes there's loggin', but — "

His voice trailed off and he looked out the window as he finished, " — but you see there just ain't much for a man around here nowadays."

The training program helped make the transition from this —

— to this.

A mountain woman in her fifties twisted a little handkerchief as she talked about her past work experience.

"Work? Well, no. No, nothin' since the furniture factory closed in fifty-six. Been doin' some upholsterin' at the house and I get fifty cents an hour for that, but it's not anythin' that's really regular."

During those three days, each person received a full hour of personal attention. Mock had jokingly said at the outset of the screening process, "We have to be nice to people. There are just too many big windows in this plant to risk getting anybody angry."

No one got angry, and there were no windows broken. But the reputation that the company gained was amazing. All along Route 91 and up the hollows the word spread that this was a company that cared about people.

"Mrs. MacCauliffe has two children in school, and her husband just had an operation for bone cancer. She doesn't seem very alert, but she is awfully sincere," Nancy Patterson said.

"How old is she?" asked Mock.

"Forty-eight."

"Looks like category A."

This was Lou Bauer talking. Mrs. MacCauliffe's application was placed in the "A" stack, a high need case.

We were now in the process of separating the applications. This took two and a half days and produced considerable emotion. Each of us had kept a personal list of people who we felt should be placed in the training program. Now the six of us who had handled the interviewing were going over each application form, trying to determine which persons should be considered. We knew that only forty-five people could be placed in the training program, and it was difficult to be purely objective.

"Jay Carmine," said Nancy Patterson.

"Already has a job," Mock commented.

"Drives forty-eight miles to Boone each day," Nancy answered. "Besides, I liked the interest he took in the plant. He had some questions that were really worthwhile."

"Forty-eight miles is a long way to go to work each morning, Al," said Lou, rushing to the defense. "That's almost one hundred miles a day, and it costs at least seven or eight cents a mile to get over those mountains."

"In an old car, probably more," said Nancy. "He could spend more time with his family if he worked here."

"He has a job," Mock insisted.

"Slick roads in the winter," I put in.

Mock threw up his hands and grinned. "Okay," he said. "Category A."

Such cases were by no means the highest of the high need group. I would say they were about average; some of the people we interviewed were living under conditions that would make the toughest of humans flinch. After those two and a half days, we had narrowed category A down to 101 people.

REFERENCES

"You want to look out for Ralph Conway," the Damascus merchant was saying. "He has a bad habit of getting injured on the job and winding up with large settlements."

On the back of the application I noted in pencil, "Accident prone or possibly malicious."

At a crossroads store, the old proprietor filled the tank of my dusty car and told me, "Well, sir, if you

ask me about John Mason, I really can't tell you 'cause I don't see John much now — only maybe three times a year. But I knew his daddy and I can say that the boy was well brought up. He's from an honest family, and I've never heard nobody say anything mean or fuss about young John."

On the back of Mason's application I noted, "Probably a good man."

I was now checking out personal references and gathering information on the persons in category A. In an urban setting something like this would have been impossible, but in two days I was able to get a fairly good resume on almost every person in my bundle of 101 applications.

"An irresponsible or accident prone man could ruin us before we sold our first order," said Lou Bauer.

"Okay, out with Conway," agreed Mock.

"I know Jack Mitchell drinks. Drinks and gets drunk and stays drunk. Anybody in Mountain City can tell you that, Lou, but the man has kids," Albert was saying. "Give me a chance to square him off, and if he doesn't shape up, I'll be the first to show him the door."

Bauer, hesitantly, "Okay, we'll try him."

The references were in. Now we were getting into the first elimination of persons from the A category. Albert, Lou, Nancy Patterson, Sally Patterson, and I sat around the table and again went through the now too painful process of judging persons who wanted and needed work. When we finished, there were eighty-five remaining applications in the A category.

TESTING

Eighty-five apprehensive people sat in the school library. Each of them had received a short letter saying, "We are pleased to tell you that you are invited to take an aptitude test that will be administered by the Tennessee State Employment Service at the Johnson County High School."

"All right, now," said the lady with the stopwatch. "When I say 'go' you will put three dots in as many boxes as you possibly can. If you put a dot outside the box, do not erase it, but go on to the next box. Pick up your pencils. Ready. Go!"

The tapping pencils made a nerve jarring racket. When the lady said, "Stop," one of the men taking the test remarked, "Sounds like a million mice on a barn roof." This brought a few laughs and some relaxation, but for the most part the applicants were tense.

The test took up most of the morning. It measured one's ability to recognize forms, ability to follow simple directions and muscular co-ordination and dexterity.

Only fifteen of the eighty-five people taking the test passed; the rest failed. Failed, that is, according to the standards of the Tennessee Department of Employment Security. Iron Mountain, however, had faith in its proposed training program. Except for twenty persons who had placed very, very low on all phases of the aptitude test, it was decided that the final elimination of applicants would be determined by the physical examination rather than by the Employment Service test. A last interview would be conducted on the day of the physical at the health center in Mountain City.

I cannot help thinking that most employers would not have considered an applicant who had failed the aptitude test. Yet it is obvious that older people, who usually need work most desperately, often score the lowest. Younger persons seem to do better since they are often familiar with the procedure of "filling in between the lines with a heavy pencil mark." Many of them have taken similar tests using multiple choice forms. Older people and people with low literacy levels, however, are thoroughly confused by such tests.

All along, Iron Mountain had stressed that no two people from the same household would be hired because there were so many applicants and so few openings. A woman and her son had different last names, and inadvertently they had both been processed as A category applicants. In a small office at the medical center, Albert Mock explained why the company could consider only one of them for the training course. Through the conversation the two nodded approval. They did understand. They knew that all of the people sitting in the reception room needed work and that it would not be fair to give jobs to two members of the same family. Mock suggested that the mother and her son discuss the situation with the family and make a decision as to which of the two would drop out.

Throughout the various stages of selection the applicants showed a high sense of fairness and responsibility. Many said that, even though they might not be hired, they felt that the company was doing a wonderful thing for the area. One of the younger applicants had planned to enter the training program if selected. He had decided that if the work did not interest him he would reenlist in the Navy. Later he voluntarily dropped out of the running. He felt that the job should go to someone who needed it more.

Missing at the health center was a man of about thirty-five in whom I had placed a lot of hope. He had struggled in confusion and agony through the aptitude test, but on the morning of the physical, he called to say that he was sick. That day, after leaving the health center, I obtained company approval to keep him in the active A group if I could arrange a physical for him.

I stopped by the man's home, a two-room cabin in an isolated hollow. As I suspected, Jake Clark was not sick.

"After that test I guess I just gave up. You know I didn't do very good, Mr. Davis. After we left that room, I decided I didn't have a chance. I couldn't go down today 'cause I felt sick and knew I wouldn't get chosen."

"A lot of people didn't do too well on the test, Jake. Haven't we said all along that education wasn't the most important thing?" I asked.

He sat on the porch, collar turned up, hat far back on his head, and stared at his shoes. "Hell, they can't use a man like me and you know it."

"If I can get you an appointment for a physical next week, will you go down to Mountain City and take it? Will you let the company decide whether they know more about hiring than you do?"

He took the physical and was later accepted into the training program.

TRAINING PROGRAM

In late December of 1964, working through the auspices of the Council and the Tennessee Department of Employment Security, Iron Mountain management had made application for a training program to the U. S. Department of Labor. A contract was initiated some 80 days later. It was essential that training commence no later than the end of March; otherwise the time to be allocated for training could not possibly have been applied to the company's over-all financial program or the proposed production schedule. Management attributes to the Manpower Project all credit for timely realization of necessary Federal approval.

The proposal envisioned ten 40-hour training weeks for 45 people, and was designed around the idea that full knowledge of the basic concepts upon which the business was constructed would produce effective, efficient, skilled, and perhaps most important of all, satisfied employees.

While the program's major objective was to be "on-the-job" training, thus producing personnel ready and able to manufacture for distribution, it was felt that some 70 hours of the 400 available should be devoted to lectures and other training activities pointing out the "why" of the work to be done.

Proceeding on this basis we developed the curriculum shown in the box on the next page.

Perhaps the curriculum appears overly academic; however, Iron Mountain was fortunate in having a staff fully capable of developing interesting and well-prepared lectures. On-the-job training is a serious matter requiring constant supervision. The instructor staff was enlarged by a cadre, i.e. a five-man training and working group which had already been employed in construction, setup, and development. Eleven people composed the instructor personnel, including the cadre and a director. This may appear to be an unusually high ratio of students to teachers; however, the many backup functions — providing materials, tools, molds, clean-up, and maintenance, were well attended.

In an effort to fully document all proceedings, a complete "Weekly Trainee Rating Form" was maintained for each trainee. Additionally, each trainee completed a "Weekly Trainee Time Ticket." All reports, along with the original job application and ensuing examinations form a complete dossier on each individual which is essential in the fair and impartial selection of additional personnel.

Copies of the training program, including the "Hourly Assignment Sheets" for each individual and reference material entitled "Project Study," were prepared for each trainee and used as a guide. The "Hourly Assignment Sheets" insured equal hours in each subject for each trainee and established instructor schedules.

This is the general plan but it was the company's approach that made the plan work.

Loading the kiln in the training program for ceramic workers at Iron Mountain Stoneware Company.

IRON MOUNTAIN
STONEWARE TRAINING

A. TRAINEE ORIENTATION PROGRAM: Introduction of staff and training cadre; outline of program; anticipated results of program.

B. LECTURES:
   1) Traditions in Ceramics — art appreciation; historical background; awareness of design; architectural ceramics; industrial design; color co-ordination.
   2) Ceramic Manufacturing — ancient technique and procedure; modern manufacturing processes; modern equipment.
   3) Raw Materials — a discussion of ancient materials and materials handling; formularization of materials for body and glazes; familiarization with basic chemical concepts.
   4) Plant Safety and Fire Prevention — care and handling of propane gas; safe employee working practice; Iron Mountain work rules; personal sanitation and clothing; fire prevention and control.
   5) Economics of the Pottery Industry — U. S. Department of Commerce reports; import statistics; Iron Mountain position in a competitive market; selling program; relationship of selling program to manufacturing program; advertising; public relations.
   6) The Employee — including the employee, company, management relationship; employee benefits, the employee's obligation; management's obligation; the company's obligation.

C. ON-THE-JOB TRAINING:
   1) Familiarization — familiarization with the physical facility; detailed explanation and function of each item of equipment; demonstration in use and function of each item of equipment.
   2) Practical Application
      a) Body Preparation (Production Dept. 1) OJT included for this department inventory control records, materials handling, weighing, blungers, agitators, slip pump, filter press, pug mill, as well as cleaning and maintenance of all equipment.
      b) Jiggering and Forming (Production Dept. 2) including actual operation and instruction in jiggering, handling and care of molds, finishing, handles, drying, casting, and quality control. This department also included freehand forming and modelling.
      c) Mold Manufacturing (Production Dept. 2-A) including demonstration and explanation, weighing and mixing, casting, care and handling, as well as practical experience in mold making.
      d) Biscuit Firing (Production Dept. 3) including handling and movement of ware, the firing process, loading and unloading of kiln, and quality control.
      e) Glazing (Production Dept. 4) including ware handling and cleaning, glaze application methods, handling, and storage of glazed ware.
      f) Glaze Preparation (Production Dept. 4-A) including raw materials handling, weighing, milling, screening, and glaze storage.
      g) Glost Firing (Production Dept. 5) OJT in this department consisted of actual firing through the 26 hour cycle.
      h) Sorting, Polishing, Packing, Shipping (Production Dept. 6) OJT in this department also consisted of final quality control standards and inventory control.
   3) OJT Critique
      a) During the last two hours of training on Friday and at the end of each training week, all participants, staff and cadre, met for a question and answer period.
      b) Closing Seminar—review of program; award of completion certificates.

"You see, we want each person in the plant to understand all phases of pottery making thoroughly. Then everyone understands how his job fits into the whole process. Another advantage is that we can then rotate the people. No one will have to do the same job day after day as he would in a usual production line setting."

Sally Patterson, one of the designers at the Iron Mountain Stoneware Company, was explaining the training program that would be used at the plant.

"And we intend to give them quite a lot of freehand modeling. I expect they will think of this as play — not serious work, you know. But it is the only way to come to terms with the clay. You bend it and twist it. You add a little water or a lot of water. After awhile you begin to get a feel for what the clay can and cannot do. This is very important. If the dinnerware is to be first-rate, the workers will have to understand why it is important to do certain things. We hope, too, that they

will develop an appreciation of design, why one piece is good and another isn't."

All this, in a little plant in Tennessee, was practically revolutionary. How many other companies would care whether their workers understood the entire process or whether they could distinguish good quality from bad? Most companies would teach a new employee his job and get him to work as quickly as possible.

The shocker, however, was when Sally said, "Of course, the lectures will do a great deal to help them understand what pottery is all about."

"You'll have lectures?" I asked.

"Yes. We plan to have at least twenty lectures. Some of them will cover the relationship of management to labor, plant safety and factory operations. Then we plan to have some lectures on different kinds of pottery making, sort of a condensed history of pottery. We have some very good films. They will help, too."

How would a group of rural mountain people respond to this kind of training? Most of the workers had not gone beyond the eighth grade. Would they be able to sit through lectures? Could they be taught to handle delicate tableware quickly and efficiently? Would they try? Would they quit when the going got rough?

Nancy Patterson, the president and chief designer of the company, had written down her impressions of the training session. She remembered the first day clearly.

"It was a raw April day at Iron Mountain Stoneware in Laurel Bloomery. Forty-five people, a little anxious and uncertain, were waiting to begin their first day of on-the-job training in the manufacture of dinnerware. They had all appeared long before the specified time of arrival. At eight o'clock they took their seats on chairs borrowed from a local funeral parlor. Out in the plant, the last nails were going into the benches and tables on which the trainees would begin their work.

"Each person received a copy of the hourly schedule for the coming ten weeks. Anyone who couldn't read was teamed with someone who could, and the whole group was divided into three teams which would be rotated at the various jobs in the plant.

"That first morning Lou Bauer, one of the plant managers, conducted the trainees through the plant. He pointed out the various machines, the kilns, the scales marked in incomprehensible kilograms. Most of the trainees were wondering if they would ever be able to learn, but all were determind to try. And so the training began."

On that first day the group watched Nancy Patterson throw several pots on the potter's wheel. There was a sigh of relief from the trainees. It looked so *easy!*

That same day the trainees crowded around a small laboratory kiln to see some finished experimental pieces unloaded. So that's what the stuff looked like! Well, this work didn't seem too hard. What next?

Working with clay, however, was not as simple as it appeared. Nancy Patterson remembered the first clumsy attempts of the trainees.

"Tools, water buckets and work spaces were assigned and then the first lump of clay. Some were timid about tcuching the clay. Others slapped and pounded as Sally Patterson explained that in order to become used to the clay, they would be given various exercises to teach them to control it, the first being to make a square tile, then a round tile and then to join various smaller shapes to these. The clay was stubborn. It refused to do what the maker intended. It cracked. It collapsed, and it fell to pieces. But in some cases it responded to a deft touch.

"As the days went by, one group at a time was taught the weighing and preparation of clay body from the various raw materials. The body was used by another group which was learning to use the jiggering machines on which the bowls, cups and plates were formed. The trainees encountered discouragement here too as molds flew off the spinning jiggerheads, as the clay turned to slush when too much water was added and as the pieces warped and cracked upon drying."

Four weeks later an excited group of trainees stood anxiously beside the big factory kiln as the door was opened and the cart rolled out. The pieces were still hot to the touch, but that really didn't matter. The trainees rushed to pick up pieces that they had made during the past few weeks.

"It's off, it's off! His head just fell off!" moaned one of the older women. She was holding a decapitated rabbit. Under the high temperature of the firing, it had simply fallen apart.

"It cracked. Oh darn, it cracked just like Miss Sally said it would," said the only teenage trainee. He held a vase that had taken several painful hours to complete. The vase had a vicious horizontal gap that made it look old and unwanted.

But though there were dozens of disappointments, there were more than enough successes. The group broke up into little knots of friends to discuss the good and bad points of the work just taken from the kiln. Pieces that had survived the first firing were passed around and examined. Advice was freely exchanged as to why certain objects had twisted or warped, why one rabbit's head had fallen off and another's had stayed solidly on.

Nancy Patterson says that the first firing was a definite turning point in the course of the training program. Most of the trainees were truly surprised at their own abilities. During the second week of training the staff at Iron Mountain Stoneware had decided that the trainees would make the grade. The trainees, however,

were not sure of themselves until they saw the results of the first firing. After that the whole group had new confidence. They began to think of themselves as pottery workers.

"Sally, how'd you know my pot would crack this way?" asked the boy.

Sally explained. The boy listened and understood. Following the initial firing, there had been many questions, some of them asked during the class sessions, many asked in confidence.

Many of the trainees recalled that first day when they had seen Nancy throw a pot on the wheel and when they had watched the small laboratory kiln being opened. They were now developing an appreciation of Nancy's skill as a potter. They shared her excitement as she removd each new load of ware from the kiln. The trainees were becoming involved.

Many hours were spent doing handwork. At first some of the trainees complained that the handcrafting was tedious and too time-consuming. Several of the men were especially annoyed at having to spend so many hours making small animals and bowls. This kind of work had little in common with the fine dinnerware that they would be producing. Secretly, many of them felt embarrassed. Wasn't this women's work? It was through these long hours of handwork, however, that the trainees developed an understanding of the qualities and limitations of the clay. As the management staff at Iron Mountain had hoped, the handcrafting was also helping the trainees to appreciate good design. They were becoming conscious of shapes and proportions.

The handcrafting work produced an unexpected result. It became apparent that a few of the trainees had a genuine talent for this kind of work. They had a real knack for making animals, medalions, bowls and other freehand pieces. This was a talent worth developing. Today there are six full-time workers at Iron Mountain Stoneware who produce handmade ware which nicely complements the company's dinnerware.

"We had never given much thought to a line of handcrafted pieces like this," said Albert Mock, one of the plant managers. "This training program has created six jobs that we had not planned for." He continued, "The signed studio work has been extremely well received by some of our finest department stores and is either currently on exhibit or will soon be available at Marshall Fields, John Wanamaker, Cain-Sloan in Nashville, Rich's in Atlanta, and Miller's in Knoxville, as well as many other areas."

Midway through the training period my wife, Nancy, and I conducted a followup interview with each of the trainees. We wanted to find out how they felt about the training program and whether they had suggestions for changes. We were particularly curious to find out how the trainees were reacting to the hour-long lectures.

"I just love them," one of the older women said. She had completed the fifth grade in school and then had dropped out. "We have a lot of lectures on pottery made by the Indians and the Chinese. It's fun. I'd like to bring my daughter to some of Sally's talks."

One of the men smiled when he was asked about the lectures.

"It's funny. We were all afraid it would be like going to school. You know, dull. But it wasn't. Another thing that's interesting. At first, we had a hard time understanding Nancy and Sally when they gave their talks. They used such big words. But now we don't seem to have any trouble like that."

All of the trainees were eager to tell us that they had worked at every machine in the plant. We asked them which job they considered the most difficult.

"Jiggering is the hardest," said one of the women firmly. "It's *hard* to make a plate."

"The hardest job in this plant is making those cup handles. You have to make 'em by hand, you see," one of the men explained. "It's hard to make them look right. Miss Nancy says that we should make a cone out of the clay and then pull it. That will give us the right shape. She says you pull at the clay and pretend you're milking a cow. It's something like that, I guess. But I don't think Miss Nancy ever milked a cow."

"The hardest job in the plant?" repeated one of the women. "You know I used to work up at the upholstery plant before it shut down. That was hard. So much lifting. I haven't done too much steady work since, but I pick beans every season. Don't get me wrong. Gettin' those dishes to look right ain't easy. But compared to work I used to do, none of the jobs here are hard."

One of the most impressive things that we noticed as we interviewed the trainees was the change in their manner. We remembered them as they had been during the initial job interviews several weeks before. They had been quiet, almost timid. At that time, they had had so little hope of being hired. Now these same people were poised, confident and eager to talk about their work.

GRADUATION

On June 5 there were over 800 people on hand at Laurel Bloomery's only factory. There were forty-three proud trainees who received Labor Department training certificates, and there were government officials, Congressmen, stockholders, managers and several hundred well wishers. Relatives of the "graduates" were there from Kentucky, West Virginia and Virginia. Congressmen Pat Jennings of Virginia and Jimmy Quillen of Tennessee were present. Clarence Ashley and Tex Isely came up from Showns, Tennessee, to play folk music for the audience, and the Damascus High School band was on hand to play the "Star Spangled Banner"

and "Pomp and Circumstance" as the trainees filed by to receive their certificates.

The Council's Executive Director Perley Ayer came over from Kentucky to deliver the keynote address. He cited Iron Mountain as an excellent example of what can be accomplished by co-operation between government and private enterprise. He expressed his faith in the ability of Appalachia's people to be an asset to modern industry and emphasized the value of training programs like this one which help unemployed people to re-enter the labor market.

Following the outdoor ceremonies, the audience was invited to tour the plant and see just what a pottery factory is like. They saw not only the plant and its machines, but the workers as well. They saw people with hope for the future; people proud to show their friends and neighbors how to operate this or that machine, proud to display a set of plates or a piece of handcrafted sculpture made during the training period.

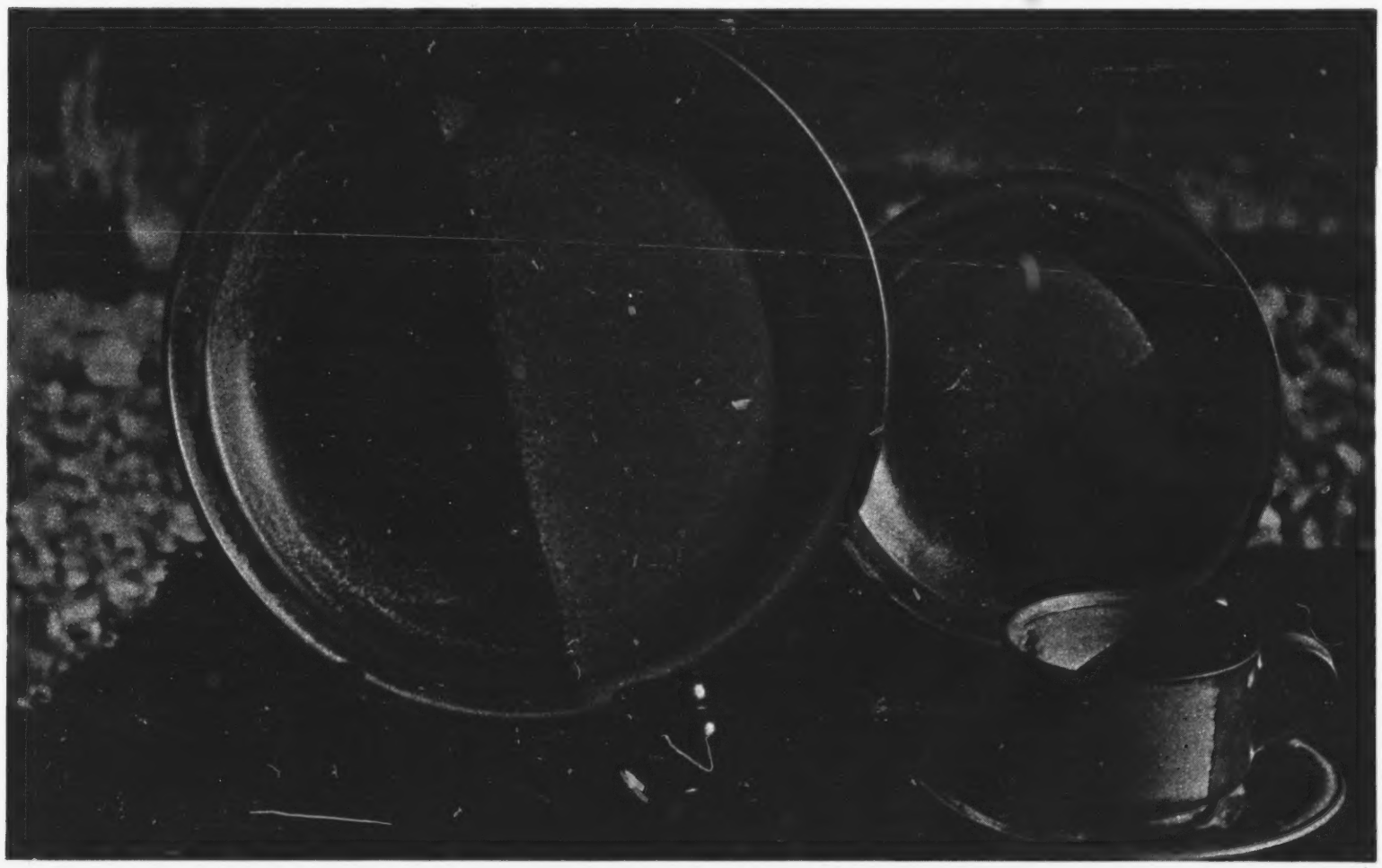
BENEFITS

For Laurel Bloomery this was something special. Local residents had subscribed capital that had been supplemented by an ARA loan. The plant had been built by local workmen. Most important, an industry had come to the valley and it looked as though it had come to stay.

It was a significant occasion for the Labor Department as well since the trainees had broken a few records. The average age of the new plant's work force was 36.5 years, well above the national norm. The normal dropout rate in training programs of this kind is between twelve and fifteen percent; at Iron Mountain it was four percent. Absenteeism usually runs about twenty-five percent of the total hours of instruction. *At Iron Mountain there were no unexcused absences and not one tardiness during the entire training program!*

It was also an exciting day for the Council's Manpower Project. We had demonstrated that we could assist a local company in selecting, training and hiring older persons who might be completely passed over by today's industry.

It is impossible to over-emphasize the positive attitude of the management of Iron Mountain Stoneware. Nancy and Sally Patterson, Lou Bauer and Albert Mock were willing to put in over 600 hours of extra work to select trainees from the hard-core unemployed because they sincerely believed that such people could be trained to do highly skilled work. Because they had kept such careful records on the people who had applied for work, the management of Iron Mountain Stoneware was able to supply information which convinced a large shoe factory that its new plant should be built in Johnson County. This new factory will employ 350 workers.



And it was a significant day for the trainees. The training program had an impact on the lives of the trainees even beyond providing them stable, respectable incomes; they began to develop an interest in art. Some of the women brought in quilts that they had made and discussed the designs with the Patterson sisters. During spring plowing a brother of one of the students had turned up a large piece of Cherokee earthenware. This was brought to class and passed around. A group of trainees asked Sally where they could learn more about Indian pottery. Many of the trainees began to borrow books and magazines on design. These interests have continued even though the training program has long since been completed.

The trainees took home with them many of the pieces that they had made at the plant, and they soon found that their neighbors were tremendously interested in the work. One of the women I visited told me, "Mr. Davis, I made some of the cutest spoon holders, but I had to give them all away to friends. I don't have a single one left."

All up and down Laurel Creek there are homes with original handcrafted artwork in them for the first time in decades. Many of the earlier pieces have found their ways up to Ohio and Maryland, carried there by admiring kin who came to visit during the summer. Children from the valley have taken pitchers and vases to school to show their classmates, and this has sparked visits to the plant by school groups.

Now that the plant is in full production, most of the workers are buying seconds of the company's table ware. At the second price and with the company discount, these people of modest means are able to afford a well-designed, attractive set of tableware. In subtle ways the people of Laurel Bloomery are being introduced to a new understanding of art.

The workers at Iron Mountain Stoneware have developed a strong sense of identity with the plant. On weekends they bring their families to the plant to show off the finished product and to explain how it is made. One Sunday an embarrassed father couldn't show his children how to use the potter's wheel. The following week the man spent several hours of his own time taking instruction from Nancy Patterson. He returned each Sunday and spent all afternoon practicing at the wheel. He will soon have his pieces marketed in Chicago.

There is a real thrill at the plant each time the kiln is opened and a new load of ware is inspected. The workers have developed keen eyes for perfection and consider it a personal failure if the most recent firing is not a complete success. They are critical of each other's work and somehow seem to strive to please not only the management at the plant but buyers in distant stores they will never see.

The training program has made another important change in the lives of the trainees: some of them are being given a chance to travel. Recently two of the handcrafters made a trip to one of the larger department stores in Knoxville. At the store the women demonstrated pottery making for three days. Sally Patterson related some of the highlights of the trip to me.

"One of the women had not been on an escalator since a trip that she had made to Roanoke in 1935. The other woman had never seen an escalator and had to be carefully instructed in how to safely get on and off. They were like two little girls in the big city until they got around to giving their demonstrations. Then they were all business. They thoroughly impressed the head buyer of the tableware department, and there wasn't one technical question that they couldn't answer."

When the women returned to Laurel Bloomery, they were immediately surrounded by fellow workers and questioned mercilessly. Surprisingly, the bulk of the questions were not about Knoxville. The big question was, "What did the people think about our ware?"

Albert Mock has told me that the Knoxville trip was so successful that the company is already making plans to send other pairs of handcrafters to other stores. I talked with Lou Bauer about the involvement of the workers and the recent Knoxville trip.

Bauer said, "You know, we used to talk about how we were getting our people involved in all kinds of things like design, art, basic economics and all that. Well, I now see it a little differently since Sally took those two ladies to Knoxville. If we keep going like this, we are going to get all of Laurel Bloomery involved with the world."

The effects of the training program on the workers and on the whole area have indeed been far reaching. Probably one of the more important results is that an old negative stereotype has been disproven. Untrained people can become productive workers, and it does not matter that they are over thirty-five.

Few factories, however, can offer their employees the deep satisfacation that the workers at Iron Mountain have found. Bob Gentry, one of the jiggermen at the plant, summed it up when he said, "It fascinates me to be able to take a piece of clay and a few drops of water and see it all turn into a beautiful piece of dinnerware."

It was through the cooperative, dedicated effort of many people and organizations that several ideas became "the Iron Mountain Way." Available ARA funds, the possibility of a BAT training program, the services of Tennessee BES, advice and assistance from a private organization — the Council's Manpower Project, and the very important willingness of the new industry's business people to not exploit, but develop the potential of the human and physical resources of their chosen plant site — all these combined to provide some answers to the manpower problem in a small rural mountain community.

Chapter IV

The Special Value of OJT in Rural Areas

The most specific phase of the Council's Manpower Project involved an experimental use of on-the-job training. This phase of the Project was wholly operational. The major thrust of this phase was to see what methods would make on-the-job training a successful tool in rural areas. Many urban or industrial areas over the country had used on-the-job training very successfully in getting the disadvantaged or the hard-core unemployed working in meaningful jobs earning higher levels of pay. But there was little experience to indicate if this success or how this success could be transferred to rural areas, specifically rural mountain areas. Many commentators on the area had said that on-the-job training could have only limited success in rural Appalachia, because so few jobs existed in the area, and, obviously, jobs are a prerequisite to on-the-job training. However, the Project's experience in Erwin, Tennessee, and the Sequatchie Valley of Tennessee, is one of the most exciting and promising accomplishments of our total effort.

The Council's contract with the Department of Labor specifically called for the Council to supervise the establishment of on-the-job training programs for no less than 50 hard-core, unemployed individuals. For $30,000 the project was able in these two areas of Tennessee to develop sixty-two new jobs. This was done without the entry into the area of any new industry. These sixty-two new jobs represented needs that the present employers in these two communities had but could not meet with their exising resources. In rural areas, with scattered population, it is very difficult for employers to find specifically trained individuals to meet the needs that the employers have. Most operations are small operations running on a narrow margin of profit. Training the existing, unemployed individuals who live near the operation is difficult and expensive. But with the help of the Manpower Project, these employers could for the first time add to their work force the one or two, or in one case as many as six, individuals they needed to more fully meet the demands that were being made on their operation. Thirty-seven employers were able to add new men to their work force.

The side effects of this effort in these two small rural communities in eastern Tennessee were many in that they manifested themselves in individuals and families and then in the effect on the total community itself. One of the most important side effects was that this effort brought the minimum wage to this rural area long before it would have come under normal conditions.

The Manpower Project could have taken the easy way out to meet its obligation of fifty jobs by choosing one large factory and negotiating a sub-contract to train fifty hard-core, unemployed individuals to work in this one factory. But we feel that much more was proven by our effort in working with many employers developing on the average of two new jobs per establishment.

A different approach to job development was used in these two locations. Roger Lester, the Director of the Council's field office in Pikeville in the Sequatchie Valley of Tennessee, was known by the employers in the Valley. He had no difficulty in developing nine on-the-job training positions working individually with employers he already knew. This technique worked well with this small number of positions. However, it was the Project's efforts in Erwin that were most significant, because not only were fifty-three jobs developed but, because they were concentrated in a small rural area, the economy and employment pattern of the whole town was affected.

However, let us start at the beginning and use the experience in Erwin, Tennessee, to explain how the Manpower Project successfully accomplished its task. From the beginning we recognized the importance of a close relationship with the BAT both at the federal level and at the state level. We found BAT very helpful and extremely interested in making our efforts successful. On a number of occasions either by telephone or in actual face-to-face conference the BAT gave us the benefit of their experience in this field. However, they admitted from the very beginning that their major thrust over the years had been developing apprenticeship programs in the apprenticeable trades and they too felt they had much to learn about the area of on-the-job training. They even questioned how relevant their experience would be to a new project trying to develop for the first time OJT sub-contracts with employers in rural isolated areas and areas that were not industrialized. We found BAT field men most anxious and willing to help the project, but they said they had had no experience in writing OJT sub-contracts and we would have to learn together as we went along. We found the state BAT men in Tennessee extremely interested and very encouraging as we began to try to understand how the program should operate.

In training our staff to understand the specifics of writing the sub-contract and negotiating the training program with the employer, we called in Earl Redwine, Jr., of the staff of the Morgan State Manpower Project. This project had had experience in writing OJT sub-contracts and had developed forms that they felt were very helpful in their program. We found this help from another OMAT E&D Project immeasurably valuable in getting us started and on the right track. The Morgan State Project was extremely honest in telling us where they felt they had made mistakes so we could seek to avoid the same pitfalls. With revisions that reflected the specific needs and uniqueness of our project, we adopted many of the forms and record keeping machinery that the Morgan State Project had used. After this day of conversation, our staff felt it was ready to begin the actual task of job development.

In the middle of March our OJT Specialist James Templeton made his first trip into Unicoi County, Tennessee. This county in eastern Tennessee right on the North Carolina line is not the worst county in the Appalachian South but it manifests most of the ills the area faces. It is characterized by rugged topography with 75% of its 15,000 population classified as rural. The median family income is $400 below the poverty line. Of those 25 years old or older the median educational level is the 8th grade. More than 8% of the labor force is unemployed. So in a county where the norm is to be disadvantaged, we started our experiment.

One other reason we chose the area around Erwin, Tennessee, was that the people here seemed ready to take a step forward. On one of the first visits to this area, James Templeton met and became acquainted with the county welfare director, Homer Vance. As welfare director Mr. Vance had earned the respect over the years of the county business leaders and employers. He was particularly sensitive to the problems and frustrations of the unemployed men and women he worked with daily as welfare cases. Mr. Vance began to introduce Mr. Templeton to many people around the area. He set up meetings with the small industrialists and other businessmen and introduced Mr. Templeton to the political leaders of the community. He also arranged for Mr. Templeton to speak to the various civic groups in the county. Mr. Templeton spent about 2½ months just visiting the community and getting to know the people on a first name basis. Mr. Templeton and Mr. Vance worked closely together in being sure during this initial period that no stone was left un-

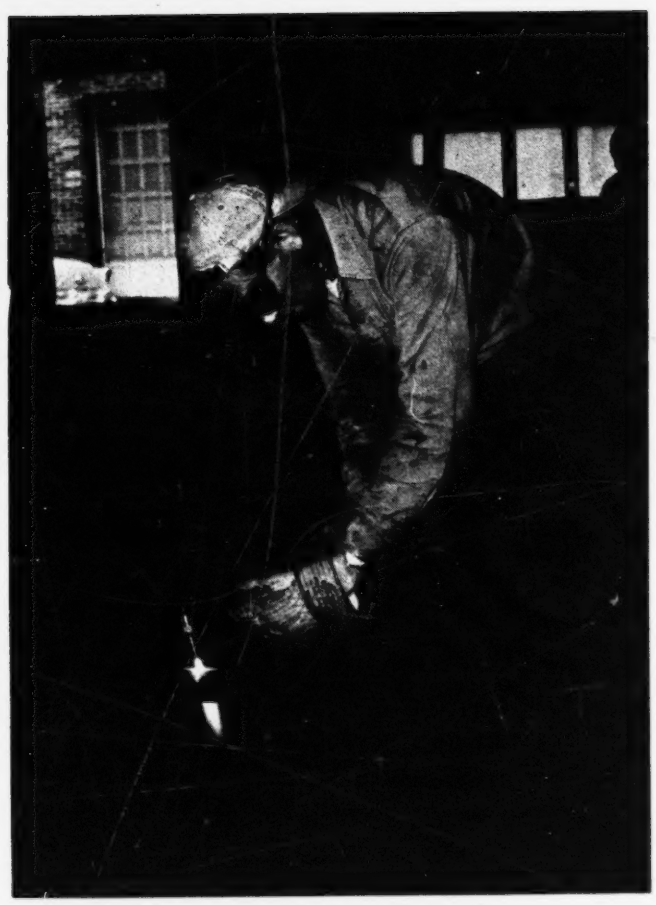
turned in the effort to make the total community aware of the possibilities of OJT in Erwin. In the latter part of May Mr. Templeton contacted Mr. Vance and told him that the project was ready to start negotiating contracts.

At this meeting it was decided to see what could be done to bring together the businessmen who would be prospects for OJT sub-contracts. A date was set for an evening meeting at the YMCA. This news was carried in the Sunday edition of the Johnson City Press and also in the local newspaper, a large weekly. The local radio station made several announcements of this meeting and several phone calls were made by Mr. Vance and others telling the employers and the businessmen of this meeting.

Twenty-six people attended. One was the principal of the high school; another was the industial commissioner of Unicoi County, and many others were small businessmen or small plant operators in the county. Of the twenty-three employers, one was a barber and Mr. Templeton told him that it would be impossible for us to sub-contract with him because barbering is a licensed profession. This left twenty-two employers. The meeting was informal and lasted about two hours; questions were asked and answers given. At the end of the meeting Mr. Templeton had decided it might be a good idea, with the response that had been shown, to really concentrate on this county to see what could be done in an area like this where the total county was involved and excited about the prospects. Instead of having one employer going out on a limb to be watched by other employers, a group was involved in an effort to improve the situation in their county. Mr. Templeton told the employers that we had $30,000 available for OJT and we would be glad to spend most of it in Unicoi County. In a roll call, all twenty-two employers present answered that they were interested.

The first week in June, Mr. Templeton returned to start negotiating and signing the contracts. The first week he was only able to complete about half the negotiations. Two weeks later in June he returned to complete the work, obligating $26,000 in the one area. The contracts ran from eight weeks training to twenty weeks training and are very diversified as far as training positions are concerned; they include filling station managers, car salesman, parts men, mechanics, body men, carpenters, cement finishers, lathers, meat cutters, restaurant managers, bookkeepers, welders, draftsmen, secretaries and others.

After the contracts had been negotiated and signed, the employers made it known that they were concerned about the applicants for the jobs, because, as they said, there were not too many people walking into their businesses seeking work. They asked if the Manpower Project could assist them in finding employees. The Employment Office that serves the area is located in Johnson City and is really too distant to adequately



serve Erwin. So after having a conversation with the people of the Employment Service, the Council's Manpower Project decided to set up a temporary office in Erwin to insure that the individuals who got to take advantage of the new jobs created through the efforts of the Project would be those people in the county who were among the hard-core of the unemployed.

It was decided that Mr. Templeton and Mr. Vance through their connections would publicize the date June 24 for interviewing applicants at the local YMCA. The local Presbyterian minister and President of the Ministerial Association in Erwin was contacted and asked to get word to all ministers in the rural churches of Unicoi County to announce to their people that the 24th would be the day on which the interviewing of the job applicants would begin. Also the local newspaper carried the announcement on the front page and again the Sunday edition of the Johnson City daily paper ran a notice. From three to six times daily for a week, the local radio station announced to the people this chance for a job. We sought to use as many media as possible in advertising the opportunities. The most successful, however, were the face to face contacts and the radio announcements.

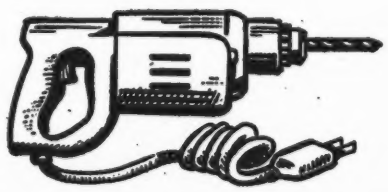
The Council staffed this temporary employment office with two interviewers. In one day 106 persons were individually brought into a private room, talked to about the project, asked questions, counseled and an application filled out. This lasted from early in the morning until late in the afternoon without a break,

but at the end of the day we felt that we were reaching those who need this opportunity. Applications ran the gamut from those who had just finished the fourth grade to one man who had finished college.

All those who came needed vocational counseling. Some we pointed in other directions, such as regular MDTA training courses or regular vocational training opportunities that are available in the area. Some were encouraged to go back to school; some were placed directly in jobs that we were aware of through our contacts in the community. One man, an experienced cook, was placed in one of the local restaurants; a parts man was placed with one of the local car dealers. In an area unused to the service of vocational counseling the mere setting up of a temporary office and letting people know of the service can produce many job opportunities for unemployed, hard-core people. Without someone's giving vocational guidance to the man who needs the job and to the man who needs the job done, the two never meet many times in rural areas. But this was one of the secondary effects of our efforts in Erwin.

With these applications in hand we then talked with each employer who had signed an OJT contract. It wasn't long until each sub-contractor had found a new trainee, a potential full-time employee that he was pleased with and proud of.

At the end of this chapter are two tables. The first lists the sub-contractors and the OJT occupation. It gives the number of trainees for each establishment and the number of weeks each man must train. The cost per trainee per week and the total cost are included. The second table details the personal characteristics of the sixty-two trainees and compares this data with the national OJT characteristics. While this table establishes the Project's success in serving a higher percentage of the hard-core than the national average, we did not reach those in most desperate need in Appalachia.



It is our belief that if OJT is to really work in rural areas, the following key points must be kept in mind:

1. A considerable amount of public relations work must precede the negotiations of the contracts. Getting acquainted with the people who will either be prospective sub-contractors or influential in assisting with the program is of paramount importance.

2. The Council of the Southern Mountains played a very important role because of its private nature. In many of the small businesses in rural areas the employers are reluctant to deal directly with the federal government. However, these same employers are quite willing to deal with a known and established group like the Council, even though they know the Council is helping them with federal funds.

3. We learned the importance of having some one individual, like the welfare director who knew both the business community and those in the area who were unemployed and in need of help, sold on and supporting the project. We feel that both immediate and continued success is more certain.

4. It seems that is is very important in rural areas especially to keep the community of business interests informed and involved in the program as a unit and not just on an individual or individual employer basis. What started out to be just an introductory banquet to the program has come to be an almost monthly dinner. Through these dinners the employers have formed an informal association where they take a continued interest not only in the progress of the on-the-job training program but also in the local war on poverty efforts.

5. On a number of occasions it has been suggested and some work has begun on starting an association or club of those trainees or new employees who have been reached through the OJT program. It has never been referred to as a union but it could possibly serve many of the same needs as the union seeks to serve.

6. By insisting that if we were going to take part in the program of training individuals to meet the needs of these employers we would have to be insured that the trainees would get an adequate wage, we were able to establish in Unicoi County the idea of the minimum wage long before it would have been established without our project.

7. By setting up an employment office, even though it was temporary, in the town of Erwin, we were able to reach many unemployed people who needed vocational counseling. This has had a positive effect on the project in that the employers did not just pick up some one they knew or wanted to give a job in their establishment but were motivated to think in terms of putting the type of individual in the job who had demonstrated both the desire to work and an obvious need to have help in becoming employable.

8. We have learned that when the job is developed and the contract is signed and the new trainee is actually on the job, still this is just the beginning. A continual almost week by week servicing really needs to take place if we are to support the employer and his new employee.

9. We learned that this follow-up servicing needs to include more than just the trainee and needs to involve the trainee's total family in the new experience that he is having.

10. In the continual relationship that we have maintained with BAT we have learned that because of the limited number of staff people that BAT can have in any one state, BAT finds it very difficult to meet all of these needs that we have isolated as being imperative to a successful program.

It is much too early to say the Manpower Project OJT phase was an unqualified success. We can say that to this point — that is, through the job development phase, the selecting of the trainees to be sure that we did reach those in real need of help, and the beginning stages of servicing the contracts to be sure that a very positive and good relationship continued to develop between the employer and the new trainee — all has gone well. We can say that it is almost impossible to calculate the effect that fifty-three new jobs in a little place called Erwin, Tennessee, will have not only on its economy but on the total progress of the community. This was done not by the town of Erwin selling its soul to a new factory or by giving land, a building, and tax advantages to some new industry to locate in their area, but by simply taking advantage of the existing needs that were going unmet in Erwin because the employers that were there did not have the resources to train new men to do jobs that they were willing to pay to have done.

However the real test comes later. We will have to wait at least three months and then see how our efforts stand the test of the passing of time. If after three and then six months these new trainees are valued employees essential to many operations in the Erwin area, this then would be success. If the OJT trainees have been able to increase their wages because of their increased value to the employer, then this would be success. If the trainees have had regular rather than sporadic employment, then this would be success. If because of this first effort to solve some of the manpower problems that existed in Unicoi County, the citizens have now been motivated to move on and try through their own resources with the help of outside resources, including even government funds, to really try to solve some of the other problems that bring human suffering and waste natural and physical resources, then we would truly be on the road to success.

These are the ultimate tests and we can't finally judge our success or failure in the OJT phase until these facts are in.

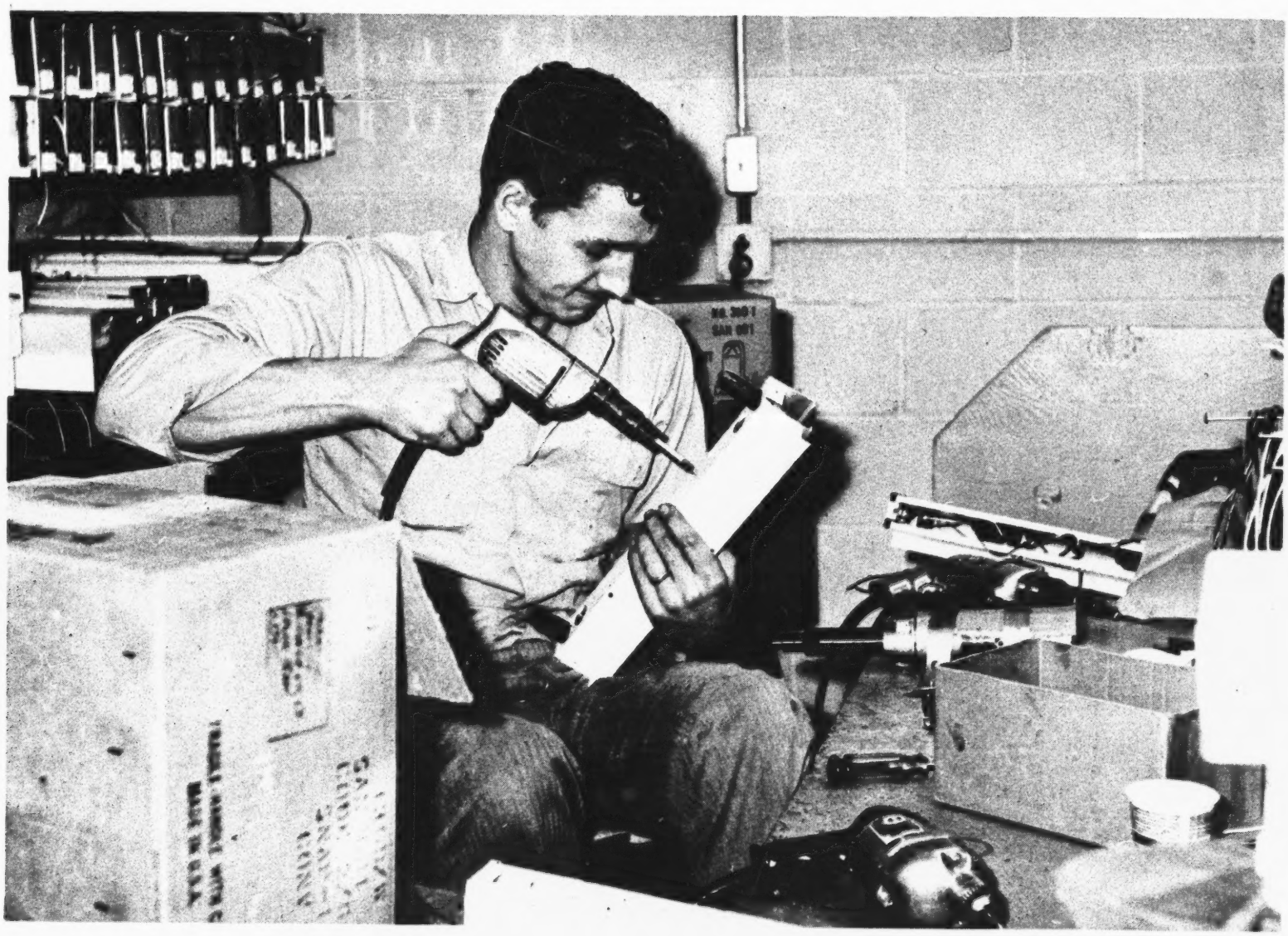


Table 1 — Sub-Contractors

Sub-Contractors	Training Occupation	No. of Trainees	No. Weeks Per Trainee	Amount Per Trainee Per Week	Contract Limit	Hourly Wage Paid Trainee
AULT INSURANCE AGENCY Pikeville, Tennessee	Secretary-Bookkeeper	1	18	$22.00	$ 396.00	$ 1.25
BENNETT'S GULF Erwin, Tennessee	Station Manager Station Attendant	2	15 15	$25.00 $22.50	$ 712.50	$ 1.35 $ 1.25
BIG HAT RESTAURANT Erwin, Tennessee	Restaurant Manager Bookkeeper-Cashier	2	20 20	$25.00 $25.00	$1,000.00	$ 1.50 $ 1.25
BLEDSOE COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION Pikeville, Tennessee	Secretary-Librarian Custodian	2	18 18	$30.00 $25.00	$ 990.00	$ 1.25 $ 1.25
BUILDERS SUPPLY COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Carpenter Apprenticeship (helper) Cement Apprenticeship (helper)	2	20 20	$25.00 $25.00	$1,000.00	$ 1.50 $ 1.45
CAPITOL AMUSEMENTS, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Cameraman Assistant	1	20	$25.00	$ 500.00	$ 1.25
DOWNEY MOTOR COMPANY Pikeville, Tennessee	Auto Mechanic Helper	1	18	$25.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.25
DUNLAP MOTOR COMPANY Dunlap, Tennessee	Auto Mechanic Helper	1	18	$25.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.25
EASTERN PRODUCTS, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Production Manager	1	15	$25.00	$ 375.00	$ 1.50
ERWIN CONSTRUCTION COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Carpenter Apprenticeship (helper) Concrete Finisher Helper	2	20 20	$30.00 $30.00	$1,200.00	$ 1.50 $ 1.35
ERWIN MOTORS, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Salesperson Auto Parts Auto Mechanic Helper Auto Body Parts Assembler	3	20 20 20	$30.00 $30.00 $30.00	$1,800.00	$ 1.30 $ 1.25 $ 1.40
ERWIN RECORD, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Typesetter Apprenticeship	1	20	$30.00	$ 600.00	$ 1.35
ERWIN WHOLESALE MEAT COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Meat Cutter Helper	1	15	$25.00	$ 375.00	$ 1.25
EVERGREEN FLORIST, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Floral Designer	1	20	$25.00	$ 500.00	4 weeks $ .85 $ .90 $ .95 $ 1.00
LLOYD C. GARLAND, CONTRACTOR Unicoi, Tennessee	Heavy Truck Driver Bulldozer Operator Block Setter	3	20 20 20	$25.00 $25.00 $25.00	$1,500.00	$ 1.25 $ 1.30 $ 1.25
ROSS GARLAND, CONTRACTOR Erwin, Tennessee	Carpenter Apprenticeship (helper)	1	20	$25.00	$ 500.00	$ 1.40
GATEWAY SHELL SERVICE STATION Erwin, Tennessee	Automobile Service Station Attendant	1	12	$22.50	$ 270.00	$ 1.25
HOME FURNITURE AND APPLIANCE CO. Erwin, Tennessee	Service Man — Appliances	1	20	$25.00	$ 500.00	$ 1.25
LEON JOHNSON MFA INSURANCE AGENCY Pikeville, Tennessee	Bookkeeper	1	14	$22.00	$ 308.00	$ 1.25

MARION COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION Jasper, Tennessee	Secretary	1	18	$22.00	$ 396.00	$ 1.25
MOUNTAIN TRAIL ESSO Erwin, Tennessee	Station Manager	1	15	$22.50	$ 337.50	$ 1.25
MURPHY EXCAVATING COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Equipment Operator	1	15	$30.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.35
QUALITY BUILDERS COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Carpenter Apprenticeship (helper)	1	15	$30.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.40
RANGE CHEVROLET, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Automobile Body Parts Assembler	2	20	$30.00	$1,200.00	$ 1.25
	Salesperson Automobile Parts		20	$30.00		$ 1.25
ROBERT LEDFORD FUNERAL HOME, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Funeral Home Attendant	2	12	$25.00	$ 600.00	$ 1.25
			12	$25.00		$ 1.25
ROBERT LEDFORD FUNERAL HOME, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Funeral Home Attendant	1	12	$25.00	$ 300.00	$ 1.25
SCANDIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	2 Welder Apprenticeship (helpers)	6	20	3 @ $30.00	$3,300.00	$ 1.25 to $ 2.25
	2 Sheet Metal Apprenticeship (helpers)		20	3 @ $25.00		
	1 Polisher and Finisher					
	1 Product Design Engineer					
SCANDIA MANUFACTURING COMPANY, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Bookkeeper	1	15	$20.00	$ 300.00	$ 1.25
SS LIVESTOCK FARMS Pikeville, Tennessee	General Farm Worker	1	18	$25.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.25
SS LIVESTOCK FARMS Pikeville, Tennessee	General Farm Worker	1	14	$25.00	$ 350.00	$ 1.25
TENNESSEE JOINT CEMENT COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Salesworker	2	20	$30.00	$1,200.00	$ 1.25
	Cement Worker and Bookkeeper		20	$30.00		$ 1.25
TRAVELERS CHRYSLER PLYMOUTH CO., INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Manager Retail Auto Service	3	20	$20.00	$1,600.00	$ 1.30
	Manager Retail Sales of Motor Vehicles		20	$30.00		$ 1.25
	Salesperson Auto Parts		20	$30.00		$ 1.25
TRAVELERS CHRYSLER PLYMOUTH CO., INC. Erwin, Tennessee	Auto Mechanic Helper	1	15	$25.00	$ 375.00	$ 1.25
UNAKA ONE-HOUR CLEANERS Erwin, Tennessee	Manager of Dry Cleaning and Bus Station	3	20	$30.00	$1,500.00	$ 1.25
	Presser and Finisher		20	$25.00		$ 1.25
	Checker		20	$20.00		$ 1.25
VANCE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, INC. Erwin, Tennessee	1 Cement Finisher	5	20	$30.00	$3,000.00	$ 1.30
	2 Carpenter Apprenticeship (helpers)		20	$30.00		$ 1.50
	2 Sheet Metal Apprenticeship (helpers)		20	$30.00		$ 1.50
WAYNE LOVE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY Erwin, Tennessee	Carpenter Apprenticeship	1	15	$30.00	$ 450.00	$ 1.25
WHITT REPAIR Erwin, Tennessee	Service Man — Appliances Apprenticeship (helper)	1	19	$25.00	$ 475.00	$ 1.25
TOTAL 37 Sub-Contracts	33 different occupations	62 trainees	—	——	$30,160.00	——

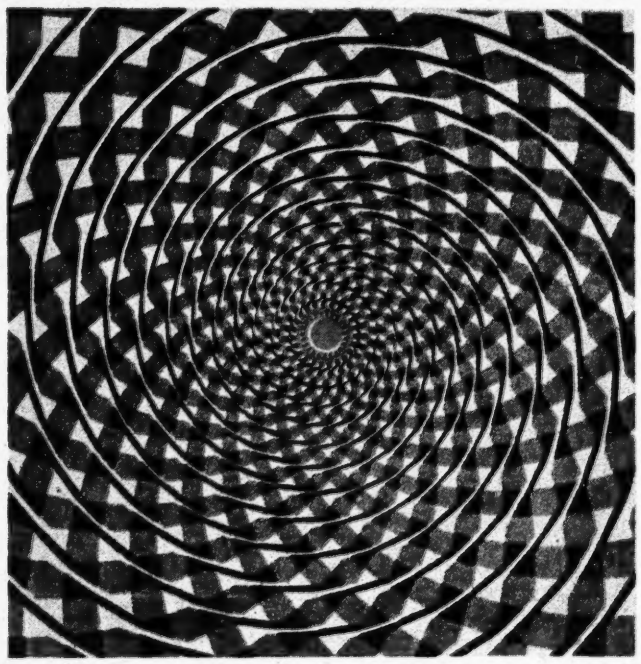
Table 2 — Personal Characteristics of Trainees

CHARACTERISTIC	CSM — OJT Total Number	CSM — OJT %	National OJT[1] Total Number	National OJT[1] %	CSM — OJT Number Male	CSM — OJT Number Female
Total	62	100.0	5,476	100.0	52	10
Family Status:						
Head of family	42	67.7	3,144	57.7	39	3
Other	20	32.3	2,309	42.3	13	7
Age:						
Under 19	7	11.3	493	9.0	6	1
19 - 21	5	8.0	1,188	21.7	3	2
22 - 34	29	46.8	2,565	46.8	26	3
35 - 44	13	21.0	776	14.2	10	3
45 and over	8	12.9	453	8.3	7	1
Education:						
Under 8 years	9	14.5	367	6.7	8	1
8 years	10	16.1	388	7.1	10	0
9 - 11	20	32.3	1,349	24.7	18	2
12	18	29.0	2,585	47.2	14	4
over 12	5	8.1	781	14.3	2	3
Years of Gainful Employment:						
Under 3 years	20	32.3	1,757	32.2	16	4
3 - 9 years	20	32.3	2,195	40.2	15	5
10 years or more	22	35.4	1,511	27.6	21	1
Employment status prior to enrollment:						
Unemployed	36	58.1	3,431	63.7	30	6
Under 5 weeks	10	27.8	1,445	26.8	9	1
5 - 14	8	22.2	738	13.7	6	2
15 - 26	6	16.7	385	7.2	6	0
27 and over	12	33.3	865	16.0	9	3
Other[2]	26	41.9	1,952	36.3	22	4

[2]Includes underemployed, family farm workers, and re-entrants to the labor force.
[1]1964.

Chapter V

Problems With The System



Beginning with the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 we have sought to coordinate employment programs and the manpower development programs. Employment programs are designed to influence the total number of jobs in the whole economy and seek to assure that local employment opportunities are developed. Manpower programs relate to the establishment of manpower development resources and to the matching of available manpower with available jobs. Subsequent legislation has dramatically increased our ability to work in these areas.

However, these programs are the type that always cause trouble. They don't just fall neatly into any department. The Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, Commerce, and Agriculture all have major roles to play. In addition, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Agriculture are plagued by federal-state cooperative systems that vie with one another over who is at the controls. Other special agencies like the Small Business Administration, Federal Housing Administration, the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Office of Economic Opportunity also get in on the act. All of these agencies and others either directly administer manpower or employment programs or affect their progress in important ways; but, short of the President, these agencies don't have an overall co-ordinator. No one person is in control. While the competition is great, concerted movement toward an objective is rare.

No manpower training program can move without the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare doing their jobs. They, to a great extent, dictate the system. In the experience of the Council's Manpower Project the system has not worked as it has tried to meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed in the Appalachian mountain counties. What is the manpower development system? Who does it serve? And how does it work?

The system relies on the local offices of the state Employment Service to determine what jobs are going unfilled. By surveying employers, the ES gathers data on employment opportunities, then asks Vocational Education to set up training programs in the vocational school that serves the area. After Vocational Education decides that it now has the capacity or can get what it needs to train in the areas in which the Employment Service has said job opportunities exist, the local Employment Service office selects the individuals and refers them to the Vocational Education's training course. Vocational Education then does what it can to make the individual employable. After the training has been completed it is then the responsibility of the Employment Service to place the individual with a new skill in the job that theoretically is waiting for him.

Though this system may sound neat enough, it has not been able to meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed, for they have very complicated problems which require sophisticated competence in outreach, employment and family counseling, and follow-up support in problem solving. The Employment Service, which in this area has largely been a claims office for the unemployment insurance, is staffed largely by various levels of clerical personnel, competent to handle the details of administering the unemployment insurance. The Employment Service is financed by the federal unemployment tax paid by employers. It has never had sufficient funds to hire and pay adequate salaries for the well-trained counselors the Service so badly needs. In addition, local ES offices are expected to recruit and counsel for the Jobs Corps, out of school NYC, the MDTA and ARA training, and others, all without new staff. The present staff in number and competence cannot meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed.

The hard-core also have very complicated training problems that the vocational schools have not been set

up to deal with. The techniques that work well in teaching young people of high school age are not the techniques needed to teach older men who are being retrained. The vocational schools have not been able to give the individual attention and the remedial education necessary to make the hard-core unemployed employable. Take, for example, the case of a large multi-occupational MDTA training program for Eastern Kentucky.

In the fall of 1963 before President Kennedy's death, there was a great desire on the part of the national administration to do something about the situation in Eastern Kentucky. Each department in Washington got word from the White House to do what they could for the forty-four-county area. The Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare decided to do something quick and big in the field of manpower training. The federal officials called a meeting in Frankfort that produced a welfare program to help the people in the hills get through the cold of the winter, but justified it as a large multi-occupational manpower training program. Although the Manpower Development and Training Act usually required that jobs be available for trainees before classes began this stipulation was waived. In the initial announcements of the project it was stated that it was being aimed at the state relief recipients or welfare cases, the hard-core poor. It was understood that more than one-third of the people to be served by the training program would have to leave Eastern Kentucky to find jobs.

However, in reality the typical trainee in this program was a male, head of household with a high school education or better, with three or more years of gainful employment, with less than two dependents, was not on public assistance, was not of the long-term unemployed, was not handicapped, was 22 to 34 years old (in the prime age group), and was trained for a skilled occupation. This is not a profile of the hard-core unemployed individual in the Appalachian South. He is more likely to have less than an eighth grade education and very little or no work history; he is responsible for supporting a large family with four or more dependents; his only support is probably some sort of public assistance; he is of the long-term unemployed or he might even have dropped out of the labor force altogether having given up; very likely he is physically handicapped or at least in need of medical attention before being able to perform on the job; he is thirty-five years of age or older and more than likely lives in an area where the opportunity to perform skilled jobs is slight and he cannot afford to move his family and his belongings.

So even in this special project with special funds the hard-core were not selected. As the state Employment Service said, "We tried to pick out those that we thought would have the best chance for success." Pressure was on the local employment offices. The money had to be obligated. More than 3,000 trainees had to be enrolled. Temporarily unemployed men living in the first concentric circle from a local employment office were all but shanghaied into the program. They weren't carefully selected on the basis of their need, their own future plans as to whether or not they would be able to stay in the training course until its completion, or whether they were willing and would be able to move to another location after training to find a job. The program was largely sold to those that were idle at the moment on the basis of receiving the allowances that would be paid those that attended the class ses-

Housing is a problem

Photo
Luoma Photos

sions. After all, the real justification for the program was to financially help people through the winter.

Thirty per cent of those who enrolled in the program dropped out without completing the training. Out of the 3,200 who enrolled in the training program, only half completed the course and got jobs. The $8.5 million that the program cost is staggering when you consider that the average cost per individual who completed the training and got a job was $5,550. If you average the cost for all those that enrolled in the program the figure of $3,731 is still very high. This cost compares with the $484 per trainee in the Council's Manpower Project's on-the-job training phase. In this on-the-job training a more disadvantaged individual was served, trained and employed.

The Council's Manpower Project was aware of this example of the efforts of the agency system to meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed. We were convinced that to serve the special needs of this client a close tie had to be constructed between the employment program and the manpower development program. We felt where the hard core were concerned, this institutional training centered approach did not work well. We needed to construct training programs more closely tied to the actual job the individual would be doing. We started looking for the types of employers that had the potential to create new jobs in the area but would be sympathetic to our desire to create a training program that would serve the needs of the disadvantaged.

The following cases describe the kinds of problems we encountered as we sought to construct a coordinated approach to employment programs and manpower development.

LOW-COST HOUSE PROJECT

The Berea Low-Cost House Project is an example of how difficult it is to get a manpower training program approved and funded in a way consistent with the demands of other federally financed programs in the same "War Against Poverty." It is impossible to carry out the vital planning within a project if there are no indications as to how long or when or even if an agency can carry out its contribution.

The Berea Low-Cost House grew out of the experience of two men in the Industrial Arts Department of Berea College. While working on a project with the Peace Corps they began to experiment with a variety of techniques by which a very substantial house could be built for a dramatically reduced cost. In a part of the country where a high percentage of the housing is classified as dilapidated or deteriorating, (one study reported that thirty-one thousand out of fifty-one thousand housing units in eight rural Kentucky counties were sub-standard) a breakthrough in this area would be crucial. In rural Appalachia the relatively simple approach of clearing out the slums and building large multiple dwellings does not fit the cultural pattern; mountain folk are by tradition tied to detached dwellings.

The Berea Low-Cost House would solve some of the problems that have plagued the mountain area for generations. The sewer system in the house has a facility to treat the waste so that the water supply is not polluted. The house is insulated sufficiently to keep the cost of heating within the range of the poor person's ability to pay. The house has inside plumbing, a real

Berea low cost house

novelty to the area and one with improved health implications.

Berea College obtained a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to develop the house. A coordinated effort took place between the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Housing Administration, the Farmer's Home Administration, and many other interested private, public, and educational institutions. Everyone was excited about the possibilities. The Council's Manpower Project has been involved in discussions of the Berea Low-Cost House from the beginning; the manpower implications were obvious.

The project was to have three phases and timing was important. Manpower training was an essential element for both the second and the third phases. This gave us the time during phase one to be ready to move into phase two and three without interruption or holdup. Phase two was to actually build six of the low-cost houses using the special panel and truss system and one control house using conventional building techniques. The project needed four men to be trained by and to work for the Industrial Arts Department in the construction of the seven houses. These men were to be hard-core, unemployed men who would be taught the technique of assembling the houses. Staff of the Council's Manpower Project went to the local employment office that serves our area to talk with the manager about the possibility of funding such a training program. He said he thought it would be better for us to go on to Frankfort, the state capitol, and discuss this project with the state MDTA coordinator and the Director of the Bureau of Employment Security. He indicated that they were not usually willing to set up training courses for so few a number. The project staff went on to Frankfort and had a conversation with the state Employment Service. We answered the questions about reasonable expectations of employment and why the College could not pay these men (because there were no funds in the contract with OEO to meet this need) and stated it was essential to be able to pay the trainees an allowance while they were being trained in the skill of assembling the house. And while the ES was very interested in the idea they said that actually they did not have any funds available at this time to pay for such a project. There was also some question as to whether Vocational Education would be willing to designate the Industrial Arts Department of Berea College as a training institution for an MDTA Program.

A direct "no" was really never received, but because timing was so important the Council's Manpower Project decided to seek another source of funds for the program. Another division of the Council of the Southern Mountains has a grant from the Ford Foundation for experimental educational programs in the Appalachian South. We approached this staff with our problem and it wasn't long until we had come to an agreement. We could legitimately describe the training of these four men to build the Berea Low-Cost House as an educational program and pay for the cost of training and the

allowances to the men during the training period from the Council's Ford Foundation grant. This was done and the Berea Low-Cost House was able to move into phase two without delay.

The Manpower Project began immediately to try to discover a way to fund the manpower training that was involved in phase three. Though shaken by our first effort to get MDTA funds for the manpower training part of this project, we decided to approach the Employment Service and Vocational Education again. Phase three of the Berea Low-Cost House Project was to build 200 or more of the houses in fifteen to twenty Eastern Kentucky counties and would require one hundred fifty or more trained assemblymen. The answer came very clearly "no." The state MDTA program had obligated all its funds for the current year and theoretically there was no way to make other funds available through the Bureau of Employment Security. The Manpower Project turned to the state Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and asked for help. The Eastern Kentucky representative met in Berea with the Council's Manpower Staff and the Berea College Industrial Arts Department to begin work on the details for an on-the-job training proposal. By the end of the day we had convinced the BAT representative of the worth of the project and the need and the possibility for OJT. He was most eager to help, excited about the project, and made a real contribution. He was in the process of developing the final submission of this training project to be made to the federal Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for their approval. But because this project fell into the area of the building trades union we were warned by BAT that it would be very difficult to get it funded. While waiting for word, the Berea College Industrial Arts Department and OEO decided to turn the third phase of the project over to private contractors. In this phase two hundred of the houses were to be built in eastern Kentucky. This left the manpower training problem up to each contractor rather than to Berea College.

It is very easy to describe how the manpower training system works in the abstract. But it is very difficult to make it work in keeping with the time requirements and the ever present irregularities of the real world.

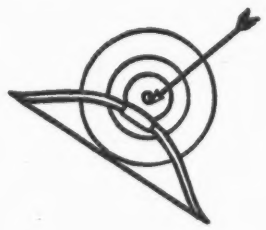
COX ARCHERY COMPANY PROJECT

In a number of cases the Council's Manpower staff was faced with one blocked passageway after another as it sought to enlist the agencies' help in specific situations where special needs were evident. In the case of Cox Archery Company an individual staff member was made aware of a good idea which could have a very positive effect on the area's hard-core unemployed with physical handicaps. The staff member had innumerable problems in trying to discover a workable scheme.

Mr. Cox called the Council's Manpower Project and asked for assistance in developing a training program. At present he operates his company in Chilhowie, Virginia, with the assistance of his wife. While his business is small, people using his equipment took every championship meet in the East last year and his company is widely known. He is interested in setting up a center that could train handicapped persons — people with coronary problems and wheel chair cases — who could be employed in manufacturing bows and arrows. One of the problems is that a plant which employs handicapped people requires more floor space than a normal operation; while Mr. Cox is more than willing to hire such people he does not have the money to expand. He envisions an eventual work force of about two hundred people, perhaps half of them handicapped. He also hopes to have a center which would be a regular training place for handicapped persons who could produce items for the archery business.

The Council's Manpower Project told him that we would work as closely as possible with him in trying to get information on who might be able to assist him. First we tried to interest the United Mine Workers in coming into the plant to help set up the training program because many ex-miners from the counties west of Chilhowie are disabled and unable to work. However, nothing came of our effort. Next we sent a number of letters to agencies which might be interested in assisting in a training program for the handicapped. We explained that the company needed technical assistance in building a plant for physically disabled people and needed some kind of financial assistance for the construction of the facilities. Every agency we contacted suggested another agency that might be able to help us. Most disappointing was a letter from the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped which suggested that we contact the Small Business Administration. The Small Business Administration in Richmond already knew of the problem at Cox Archery and could help only in the way that SBA assists any other small business. The Vocational Rehabilitation people in the state of Virginia referred us to the regional rehabilitation representative in the town of Marion. In conversations with this gentleman he was unable to effectively help solve the problem. Our letter to HEW in Washington, D. C., was forwarded to the state of Virginia. We then began to get in touch with many private organizations. No one was able to give us much help. We realized that if we did not get some assistance soon, Cox Archery would decide to construct a normal facility and a great opportunity to put handicapped persons to work would be lost. During a trip to Washington, D. C., our staff man talked with the Assistant Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation, who was very helpful. He telephoned the Charlottesville, Virginia, HEW office and they promised assistance in handling the Cox Archery problem. They soon suggested names of several persons on the state level who might be able to move quickly despite the usual bottlenecks and we wrote these people.

A call to the Virginia League of Crippled Children and Adults brought assistance more quickly than we expected. The League representative in Kingsport stopped by the factory the next day. During this conversation it became obvious that Mr. Cox needed more clear-cut information to present to the agency people we had lined up for him to talk with. Though it was agreed that Mr. Cox's operation has potential for employing a good number of hard-core, unemployed people, his organizational process is very confusing to the persons who work for the various agencies. Next the manager of the Virginia Employment Commission in Marion met with the Council's staff man and Mr. Cox to discuss the possibility of MDTA training programs. Before the meeting we doubted that MDTA was appropriate in this case, but we felt it was worth exploring. It wasn't. We spent three fruitless hours talking about what ES could not do for Mr. Cox. The Virginia BAT representative also talked with Mr. Cox. But he like the others is unable to enumerate the steps that Mr. Cox needs to take to put his operation in a position where he would qualify for the services that the various agencies have to offer.



The problem of the training program for this company is a real one, since any government agency that can help wants to see the plant in which the program will be run. Cox is presently trying to determine the size of the building he will construct, but the size will depend on whether or not he can get a training program. Mr. Cox needs specialized technical assistance from several different sources in order to develop a program and plan which will meet all the different criteria. There seems to be no way to coordinate the agencies so that he receives the concerted and cooperative help he needs.

NATIONAL CASH REGISTER COMPANY PROJECT

The Council's Manpower Project tried on several occasions to establish a working relationship between the public agency system and a private enterprise that needed a manpower training service. In some cases we were able to work out a most happy relationship as in the case of Iron Mountain Stoneware in Laurel Bloomery, Tennessee, discussed in Chapter III of this report. However in the case of the National Cash Register Company our attempt failed.

NCR is a company that has continually sought to be of help to the area. It has been honest about what it could do and why and at the same time it has maintained a large degree of flexibility as to how. There are many buyers of NCR equipment in the southern Appalachian area but there are few trained operators. NCR admits that they would be able to sell more machines if they could insure that the buyer could find a trained operator. They recognize, of course, that if an individual is trained to operate the NCR machines they will also be able to operate other makes of machinery. So a business could hire an operator NCR helped train but buy the machine from another company. NCR says that it will take its chances.

In a conversation with one of the manpower staff field men, a representative of the NCR company discussed their problem and asked if we could help them discover a way to set up a training program for business machine operators in the Appalachian area. NCR would furnish the instructors and the machines used in the training courses. They could help place graduates in jobs because they know individuals in the area needing trained operators. As NCR talked about the idea around the region, they realized the need for paying an allowance to the trainees to help them meet their expenses while they were learning a new skill. Our staff man asked if they knew of the provisions under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the role the Employment Service and Vocational Education might play in such a project. NCR had heard of the legislation but did not know how it might be applied in this specific case. We suggested that we go together to the state Employment Service and discuss the matter with them.

The state Employment Service was very interested in the idea, but said that there was not enough of this kind of job in the area to justify any more training. Vocational education and the ES were meeting the existing need for this type of training in the Hazard Vocational School in eastern Kentucky. Besides at this time there were no more funds to pay for a new or additional program.

The NCR people were discouraged after this visit, but insisted that there must be a way that we could work together to solve the problem of too few equipment operators in the region. NCR and other companies selling equipment are the first to hear from the establishment that has brought a piece of machinery and needs an operator or from an establishment thinking about buying a piece of equipment but reluctant because an operator is not available. NCR can testify to the fact that the present way of training and placing operators is not meeting the need, but for some reason the ES and VE are not willing to sit down and discuss in depth how the private company and the public agencies could in combination do a better job of serving the people that need work and serving the need in the area for operators.

NCR is still interested in helping with a program, but to this time no one has been able to help them determine what their role should or could be.

Shortage of jobs in the area hurts many people and increases the unmet needs of the area.

INDUSTRIAL GARMENT PROJECT

The problems of Industrial Garment, a plant in eastern Tennessee, point to the difficulties of working in this area with an inflexible national policy. The Department of Labor had had a hard and fast rule for the past year that it would not train individuals for work as power sewing machine operators. The national garment workers union had made the point to the Secretary of Labor that there was national unemployment in this field, and that, therefore, they did not approve of training new workers when there were skilled people out of work. Also, many garment factories were moving from the North to the South and by training

people in the South and in the mountain counties. we were making it easier for companies to move their operations. thus throwing people out of work in one area to put people to work in another area. There was good justification for this decision not to train power sewing machine operators and the Council's Manpower Project has never encouraged communities to bargain for a garment plant.

However, in eastern Tennessee there is a seventeen year old manufacturing plant employing 350 people as power sewing machine operators. This company has been in the area long enough to be respected and trusted. It owns its land, factory, and equipment, and is not a fly by night operation. Those working as power sewing machine operators belong to and are represented by one of the national unions. Because of some new techniques and some new needs and also a large number of new contracts, this company must expand quickly and efficiently. But with its existing ability to train new sewing machine operators it could train no more than six to eight at one time without greatly disturbing production ability. There are many individuals in the area who want to work for this plant and are willing to go through a training program to make them ready for work.

The plant, in talking to the Council's Manpower Project, was quite willing to let us help in setting up the training program including items in the curriculum that would allow the most disadvantaged and the most hard-core of the unemployed to be selected for the program. Because most of the new expansion would be for women employees the company was willing for the Council to help in determining what families were most in need of either a second wage earner or a primary wage earner, depending on the situation within the family. Because of the plant's long history in the area and acquaintance with conditions in the area, it was interested in making a contribution rather than operating at the expense of the community.

This seemed to be a case where an exception to the rule might be made. But it wasn't. The plant is stumbling along training six or seven trainees at a time, trying to accomplish its expansion, while many individuals wait their turn to start work and make money for their families. A well thought out training program with supportive services to the family could have made a contribution that because of an inflexible manpower policy will not be made.

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION TRAINING PROJECT

No project is more doomed than the one dependent on a smooth working relationship among several departments, agencies of government, private employer associations and the unions. The effort to establish a training program for highway construction work is a painful example of the unfocused and uncontrolled manpower program.

For quite some time there has been discussion of a comprehensive and massive training program for highway construction. With Congressional passage of the Appalachian Redevelopment Act and the other state-federal highway construction programs and with the tremendous need to catch up in road building in the Appalachian area we have known for some time that we were on the verge of a massive road building program. In the past when roads such as the Mountain Parkway in eastern Kentucky were built, the workers were imported from outside and brought in with the contractors. It was disconcerting for the idle unemployed in the area to sit back and watch men from Ohio and neighboring states coming in to build a road right through their county. It aggravated some of the local people to the point that they blew up and otherwise destroyed machinery.

Conversations with the Appalachian Regional Commission indicated that it would be possible for them to stipulate when they advertised for contracts to build the roads that anyone bidding on the work would have to agree to hire local people for the construction if there were trained local people seeking the work. An agreement was also reached with the Operating Engineers that people successfully completing a training program could be taken into the apprenticeship program of the Union.

The Office of Economic Opportunity was also interested in seeing if by establishing a way to provide special services to the families of the men who would be trained in this new skill we could have some dramatic effect on their total ability to meet needs of the whole family. There were conversations with people working on the Berea Low-Cost House Project to see if it would be possible to help move and rehouse families to locations more convenient to the work, thus helping them to be in areas where facilities and services were more available to the family and at the same time bettering their housing.

Here was the chance of a comprehensive training program to not only give the head of the household a new skill and a new job in a field of work that we know will be very active for the next five years, but to also help the family to be able to take advantage of better housing, more accessible services, higher quality of education and the many other necessities of 20th century living. In addition highway construction work is very close to the type work that the men in

the area are used to doing and they could make the transition much easier than to some other kinds of work.

Much time and conversation was spent at many different levels of government in Washington, state capitols, and local communities discussing the problems and the possibilities of such a program. We even got as far as suggesting where the training centers should be located. It was pointed out that during the training period as a man learned how to operate the heavy equipment he could make a contribution to various community action programs. There was to be a joint funding between the United States Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity with the agreements between the Operating Engineers and the Appalachian Regional Commission. All seemed to be going very well, everyone was interested and saw the need. Everyone felt that we could accomplish our goal, but then something happened. It may have been due to the multi-state nature of the program as projects across state lines are exceedingly complicated when it comes to final approval. It may have been because no one could agree on who would be the sponsor or the applicant for the overall program, since no one really wanted to be the applicant but at the same time didn't want to let someone else.

At this point it looks as though the project will never get started. Either someone who has the power will seize the reins and make the necessary decisions or once again the roads in Appalachia will be built with men from outside while the unemployed mountain men watch the big machines go by.

CONCLUSION

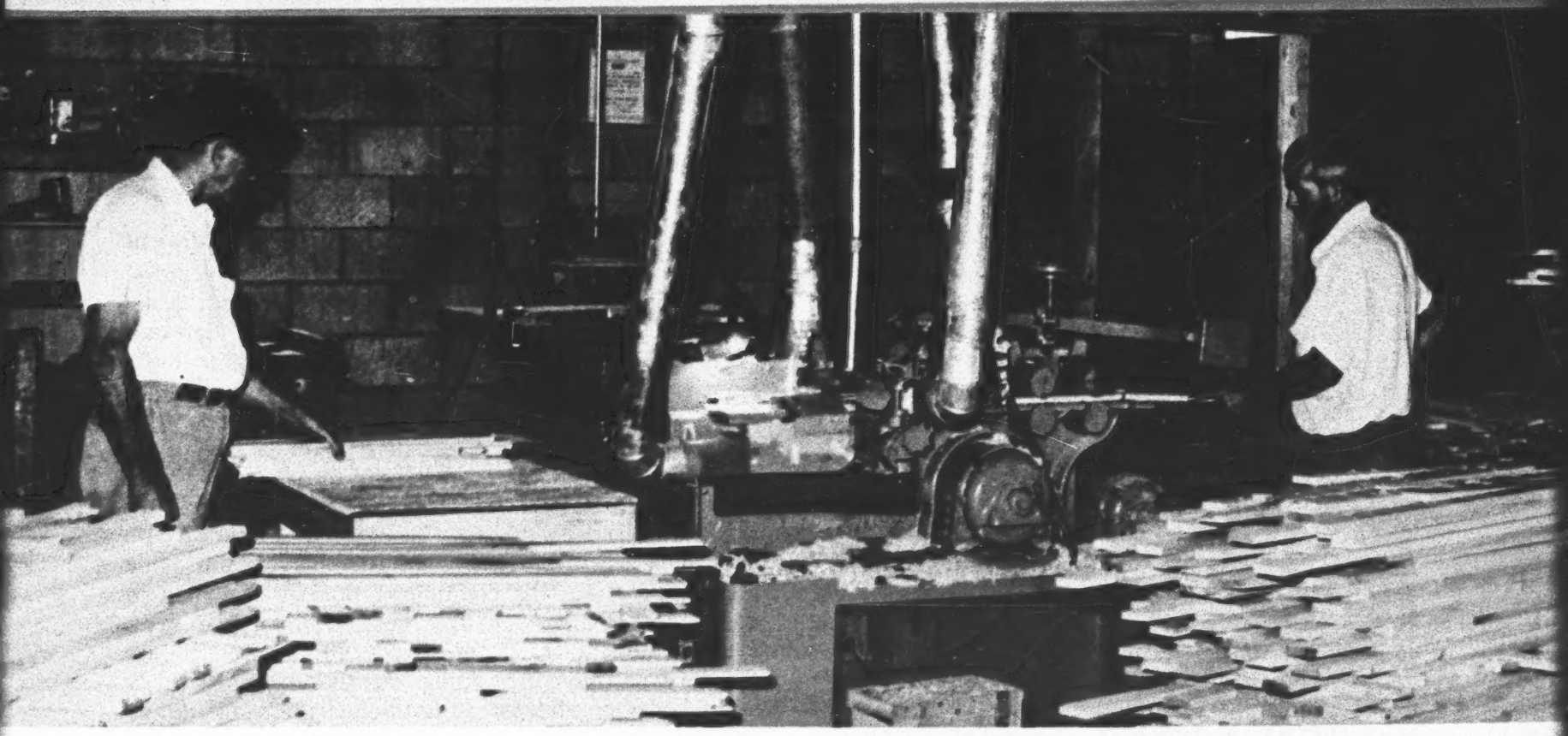
We encountered some very real problems in the attempts described in this chapter to open opportunities for employment to the hard core. Resources for manpower development within the various agencies proved largely unavailable for meeting specific needs in specific instances. Lack of coordination between the individual agencies; lack of agency personnel trained in outreach, counselling and training of the hard core; lack of understanding within the agencies for the poor's difficulty in trying to deal with the various agencies and their fractured approach to the poor's problems; lack of flexibility within the agencies especially as to regulations and timing for programs; and lack of willingness to deal with those people in the private sector who are willing and could assist the agencies in being more realistic all contribute to difficulties we found with the "agency system."

But the difficulties are not sufficient to warrant destruction of the various agencies. Their struggle to gain public recognition and acceptance has been a long and frustrating one. Now that they are established they must begin to widen their responsiveness to the needs of both the society at large and the individuals in it and mired on its fringes. Efforts now must be made to strengthen the various public agencies.

They must be encouraged and given the chance to experiment on their own with techniques of reaching the poor, of responding to the intricacies of job training and development for people who are below the educational and skills level of the "cream of the crop." There are talented, concerned and innovative individuals within each agency who have ideas and creative plans to better fulfill the avowed purpose of their agency. Let them experiment with creative projects.

But we must not lose sight of the contribution that separately funded projects can make. Such projects, designed to fulfill a specific purpose of one of the agencies which the agency has not been fulfilling itself, are not duplicating effort. This competition can demonstrate quickly and decisively that something can indeed be done and can demonstrate techniques and methods which prove successful.

The frustrations and aggravations which we experienced in the situations described in this chapter point up the fact that the resources and abilities present in the various agencies must be made more responsive to the changing needs of our modern society and the people living in it. "Established" procedures and attitudes are not enough, no matter how hard fought their way was. New techniques are being demanded of the whole agency system in order that the goals of each agency may be fulfilled.



Workers at a civic industry in Cannon, a community in Knox County, Kentucky, make wooden parts for Community Playthings, Inc.

Chapter VI

Conclusions and Recommendations

Our year's experience brought us to certain conclusions as to what the situation really is with manpower in Appalachia.

1. Men want jobs.

They would like meaningful work with dignity, but they want to work. A job is the key to a man's place in his family and in his community. He needs a job to maintain his self esteem.

2. Jobs are here and unfilled in private businesses throughout Appalachia.

Our experience in Erwin and in Pikeville and later surveys of businesses in other counties support this conclusion. Many small employers have job openings, but cannot find employees. Many others are willing to hire extra employees, but, operating on a small margin of profit, cannot afford to recruit and train someone to fill the positions.

3. There are unmet service needs in the public sector in education, health, welfare, and public facilities.

Appalachia has never had adequate programs in these fields even at the height of the coal industry's prosperity. The isolation of the area, its rugged terrain and sparse population made services difficult to provide. Trained professionals were largely unwilling to work under such difficult physicial conditions and the culture itself managed to get along without them.

4. There are unmet needs for physical facilities such as recreational areas, sewer systems, access roads and bridges, and conservation aids.

Here again terrain and isolation prevented the spread of these facilities. And since many communities were owned and run by the coal companies, the citizenry had no voice in how they were managed anyway. So the services are still non-existent.

5. Inadequate machinery exists to get men and jobs together.

Employment Service offices have long since become unemployment offices concerned with welfare checks, not job placement. The recommendations of the recent task force for improved service from the U. S. Employment Service should be implemented. Paying higher salaries, detaching itself physically and financially from the employment compensation offices, expanding its information gathering operations and thinking in terms of a national, not only a local, job market, and receiving its operating funds from general appropriations could help to provide the link between men and unfilled jobs. But until such a change takes place, Employment Service offices cannot meet this need.

Employment agencies are non-existent. Newspapers are not commonly read by the men in the hollows who need work and job openings are rarely advertised. Word of mouth recruiting is not too efficient. So job openings go unfilled.

6. The fragmented approach of the various agencies is not reaching the hard core men who most need the jobs.

The various agencies divide up a man and parcel him out among themselves, need by need. But most men just never make it beyond one attempt at the first stop. And the ones who are truly hard core never get to the offices at all. The Employment Service accomplishes little if any outreach to hard core individuals. Neither do the other agencies. The whole organized official approach to the problems of the hard core alienates those who most need the services. The paperwork is overwhelming for one who doesn't read nor write. The endless questions from strangers are too

A road

embarrassing and degrading. And too much of the time the men never see any results from the time there anyway. The individuals who do get into training courses are not the ones most in need of help.

Since the agencies are not meeting the needs of those who most need their services, it is difficult to see how any private organization attempting to see how and through what techniques these needs can be met can be accused of "duplication of effort." For thousands of families throughout southern Appalachia the problem is no help at all for the problems they face. Perhaps the most effective way to encourage the various public agencies to reach out to those people who need services is for private organizations to experiment in outreach, counseling and training methods designed for the hard core and then make these methods available to the agencies and encourage them to use them.

7. The education centered approach of the various agencies is designed for the industrial expansion approach of the Economic Development Act and the Appalachian Regional Commission or for the migration to the large cities such as Chicago or Detroit. Neither approach holds much hope for the hard core unemployed man in the mountains.

Even the casual listener to all of the talk about the Appalachian South hears two solutions to the region's problems. Many experts spend thousands of man hours dreaming of those ways by which they can attract new industry to locate in the mountains. They have hit upon the idea of throwing all their resources behind an effort to develop certain oases as growth centers. This development is economic development in its most traditional sense.

The approach being used by the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Economic Development Act is an approach that seeks to prepare certain selected areas as industrial sites. Large sums of money are spent to create or improve water, sewage and power facilities. The money under these programs is very limited; therefore some areas get chosen and many others get left out. If one area is more accessible to railroads or to highways or the governor's office, it is chosen over another area. "Smoke stack hunters" seek some industry, any industry that is willing to locate a plant in their area. Each county participates in the cut-throat competition, each trying to outdo the other in offering the industry the best deal.

In most cases the type of industry playing this game seeks more from the community than it is willing to contribute. It may want free land, a building to rent, even tax advantages. In most cases these industries are the marginal industries doing jobs that are most easily and most often affected by technological change. Many times they are various kinds of "jobbers" doing contract work for larger companies.

These industries are also those which have traditionally been low-wage industries. The minimum wage may be $1.25 an hour but a man can't live and raise a family and meet the needs his family has if a whole society of people located in one small area of the country are all making about a $1.25 an hour. On this basis you can't pay for schools, roads, hospitals, or very much else. In urban areas programs to increase the annual income of marginally employed men from $1,000 and $2,000 a year to $3,000 or $4,000 a year make a significant contribution because they occur in an area which already has an industrial base and business economy supporting many of the tremendous service needs that this civilization has. Education, health, recreation, roads, public housing — many of these things can be paid for out of the existing structure. But in rural areas while programs which raise individual incomes to the minimum wage do help the individual family to purchase more food and other material things a family needs, these programs really do not affect the area's ability to supply the services which are needed. Industrial development programs, even those reaching the hard core unemployed and placing these men in jobs paying the minimum wage, do not affect the tax structure in rural counties. A man with six children making $2,000 a year doesn't pay income tax; retrain him, place him in a new industry that you have been able to attract to his area, pay him slightly more than the minimum wage and he still does not pay income tax.

The types of industry that the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Economic Development Act are encouraging to come into this area are not the type of industry which will help the Appalachian South head the future off at the pass. Therefore, though these programs are an important contribution in helping individuals increase their income, they cannot solve the total problem. If we are really thinking about breaking the cycle of poverty and helping a region move into the future prepared for it, we are going to have to think about other types of program.

Many other experts in the myriad of fields who come to doctor the region stand to gawk at the conditions, then throw up their hands and say we must move all of these people out. Granted, more than seventy percent of our nation's population now lives in the urban centers, but fifty percent of the nation's poverty is located in the rural areas. The current opinion is to spend the sums of money now available under various pieces of legislation almost wholly in the urban areas where it is believed that the problem is more intense and is more visible. Such a policy overlooks the fact that it may be much more difficult to solve the problem after it has moved to the city.

One of the best ways to relieve some of the pressure on the city is to have a vigorous program which enables rural people to move into the second half of the twentieth century abreast with the tide.

The American city is not able to cope with the problems that it now has. Most of those rioting in Watts in Los Angeles were recent immigrants from the rural areas and were in the process of going through the horrors of cold turkey migration. Many people living in rural areas are going to migrate and we should have programs that seek to make this migration sane. But nothing would be more insane than to have a national policy which sought to accelerate the migration from the rural areas to the urban centers. A much better program would be one which sought to provide rural areas with the services necessary for the day. This would vastly slow down the rate of migration to the urban centers by eliminating the reason most people choose to migrate. But in addition, by having health, education, recreational and other services and facilities available in rural areas for all to partake of, those that do decide to migrate to the urban centers would then be better able to cope with the urban civilization and less likely to become a ghettoed sub-culture problem. When one begins to count the cost that cities pay each year in the areas of crime, remedial education, job training, social work, etc., it is very likely that it would be even less expensive to effectively solve many of these problems before they move to the urban center.

8. There is a feasible third alternative, one which seeks to create a civilization here in the mountains which does not mirror the industrial age but looks forward to the needs which this cybernated age will have.

Remaining in the mountains is a horrifying thought only to those alien to the mountains. To those people who are a part of the sub-culture of Appalachia, ties are strong — ties to the family, some of whom quite possibly have lived in the same county for several generations, ties to the land, ties to all that is familiar in speech and thought patterns and values. And with these ties of course go an element of rejection for what isn't familiar and easily mastered and understood. The trauma of uprooting is tremendous and many of those who migrate do so only physically.

But staying in the mountains does not necessarily mean not moving either. The jump from the hollow to the small community perhaps just to work or maybe to actually live is not so great as the jump to Chicago or Detroit. There is less to overcome, less to unlearn, less to apolgize for not knowing. Even the move to one of the growth centers created by the EDA is less traumatic and the demands on the individual are less strenuous.

9. We believe that the sanest approach to creating such a civilization involves building on the culture already here through community action.

Capsule programs, imposed from above or beyond, do not change an area. The "agency system," fragmented and splintered itself, fragments and splinters the individuals it works with and to a great extent the community. It isolates individuals and ignores the fact that each individual, particularly in a family-clan society such as the mountain society is, is both product and creator of the larger problems. As such it is much better to attempt to improve the housing, water supply, sewage, transportation, education, health services, and welfare of as many people within each small community as possible. Community action seeks to lift the whole community, with the help and experience of each individual in it.

CAPs as they develop can also incorporate some of the programs developed on an experimental basis by private organization. Originally one time programs, many of them have proved their capability of meeting needs of the poor. They can be refined and merged with the total community action effort in a community and the experimental program can become an ongoing part of the solution to deep widespread problems. It is not inconceivable that both community action programs and the experimental programs of the private organizations can begin to contribute some of their new knowledge and techniques for outreach, counseling and training of the hard core to the agency system so that

A well-used bridge

it can start doing its broad job of meeting special needs of the poor.

For job opportunities are a part of this picture also, and to a great extent serve as a basis for the structure of the family and the community. If men can once more find employment which is both important to others and pays them a living wage, the foundation of a tottering structure can be shored up and a sub-culture can begin to build and contribute instead of disintegrate and decay in shame and disgust.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above conclusions, then, we recommend that future manpower work in the Appalachian mountains center around three programs:

1. On the job training.
2. New careers.
3. Direct employment.

In each of these recommendations we feel strongly that a work centered program is one of the keys to reaching hard core unemployed. And the other key is concern for the individual's needs which can be met by the work of others in the community so that the result is the lifting of the whole community a little above the rut of poverty. Each of these three recommendations supports the others. An on the job training program is impossible without the aid of economic opportunity programs. And direct employment programs are tied closely to expanded private business and community development.

The money is available from both public and private sources to carry out these programs. But special techniques must be used to make certain that those people who most need both the jobs and the services involved benefit from them. This is not easy.

There is no overall federal manpower administrator. There is no state manpower administrator. Few programs suffer more from the ills of poor coordination and interagency bickering than does the manpower program. As a result, comprehensive planning is extremely difficult and the poor again suffer because of the fractured approach to their problems. This fact convinced the staff of the Manpower Project that manpower development and employment programs had to be tied to community action. Coordination only takes place when organized communities have the power to force it. If coordination is not evident at the local level it is not meaningful. The first order of business is to get communities organized and forcing their government to help them solve their problems.

Community action can help bring needed services to remote communities.

I. ON THE JOB TRAINING

The first recommendation refers to matching unemployed men with job opportunities in private business in mountain communities through on the job training, providing the backup, support, and training necessary to make the job a successful experience for the employer and valuable training for the employee.

Since jobs exist and men want to work and no effective machinery exists for matching the two, we recommend that attempts be made to create this machinery to:

a. Establish an effective means of connecting long-term unemployed men and small employers who need workers through mobilization of both the business and the poverty communities.
b. Develop a counseling service which will recruit, advise and support these unemployed men as they embark on their new jobs.
c. Through the use of OJT subcontracts, enable small employers to undertake otherwise economically impossible training of an expanded work force.
d. Give employers the technical assistance required to develop a training plan that both teaches new skills and meets the individual's needs.
e. Encourage employers to further expand their operations, by advising them on internal procedures and the development of markets.
f. Create a structure of a Manpower Development Service which can be taken over by a local Community Action Agency or other similar body, and, in general, create a climate conducive to economic expansion.

The areas involved should be three to five counties, preferably already cooperating in a multi-county community action program area. Such areas would make possible maximum cooperation with other Federal, State and local programs, such as placing OJT trainees with road and public works contractors under the Economic Development Act and the Appalachian Bill. Such a choice of area would make possible the program's transfer to an ongoing community action agency when the OJT program is once underway. This approach also would encourage both businessmen and community people to look to a larger, economically and politically more realistic unit than the county for the solution of their problems and the planning of their future.

The different parts of such a project would include job development, counseling, economic development, and related projects for the support of the trainees.

Job development would include preliminary public relations work, sensitizing the middle class of the area to the goals and methods of the project; the negotiation of the original round of OJT subcontracts; the servicing of the contracts; ongoing counseling with the employers and the effort to develop additional job openings. Its emphasis should be on creating a general climate conducive to the discovery and development of desirable jobs (paying Federal minimum wage scale or higher) as well as arranging for specific job slots.

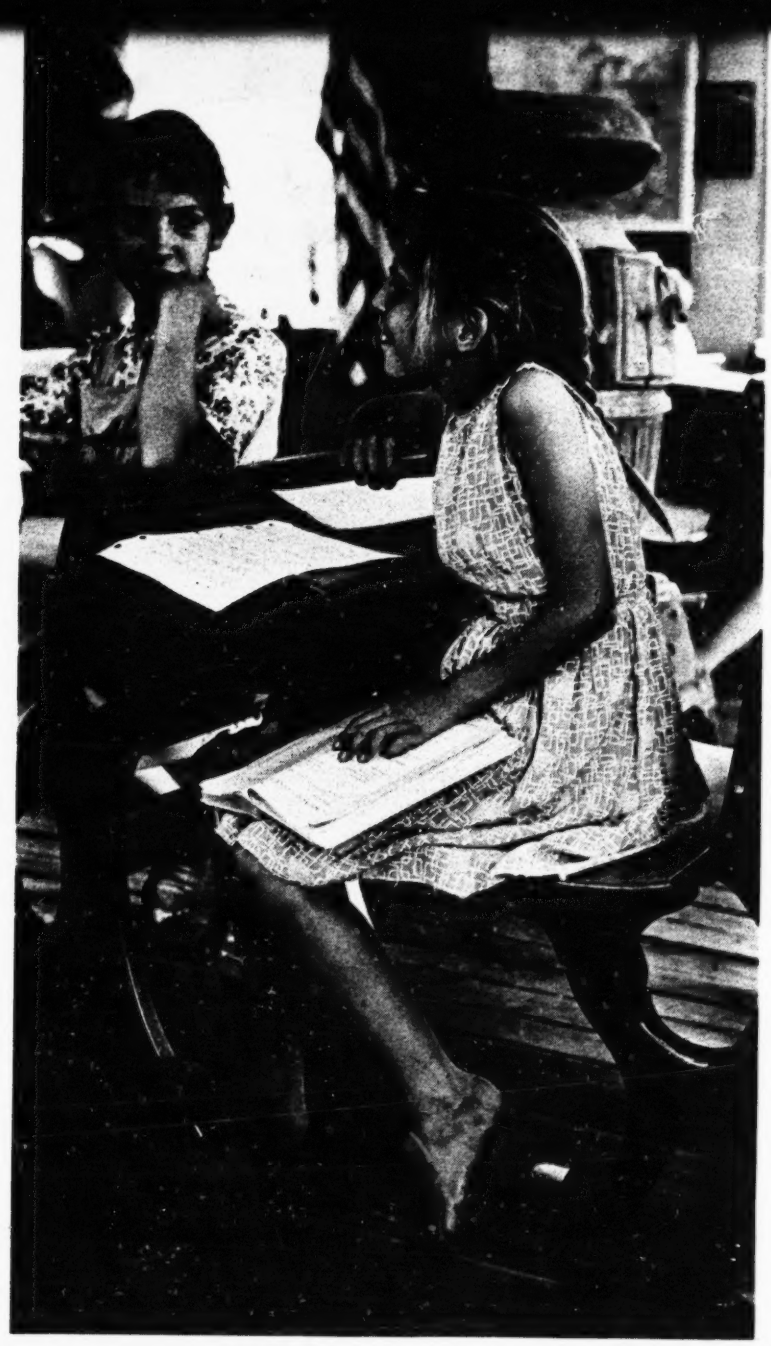
On the job trainee

Though in its initial stages in a multi-county area, a trained professional would be involved in the setting up process, once the service had been set up local people trained to carry on the work would do the job development function.

Counseling function would emphasize a concern for individual problems and its goal would not be so much a trouble-free adjustment to the particular job situation as the development of skills and mental attitudes which would prepare the trainee to find and keep future jobs without the help of counseling. The counselor working directly with the job trainee would:

Serve as a comfortable, understandable contact with the outside world.
Boost the ego and self image of the counselee, thus strengthening the counselee as a person.
Act as one to whom problems could be brought and discussed.
Serve as a knowledgeable representative for the counselee, that is, look out for a counselee's interests and try to see that the counselee is not taken advantage of by unscrupulous employers.
Help the counselee see the world in manageable terms.
Help the employer understand the trainee (counselee).
Expedite and help unravel red tape in the employment process.
Help counselee seek alternatives and allow counselee to make judgments and choices on his own, thus encouraging independence and responsibility on the part of the counselee.
By using group counseling techniques, be able to develop an understanding on the part of counselees that most of them have similar problems.
Be able to work with family of counselee to insure their support of the new role the counselee is undertaking.
Act as a representative of the counselee when helping him seek employment. The counselor's evaluation of the job-seeker would be very important.
Do initial interviewing of job-seeker, uncover and help evaluate his interests and abilities.
Possibly furnish transportation for job hunting.
Follow up trainees who drop out to determine reason for quitting, attempt to continue counseling and continue to help in job-seeking if counselee wants to do this,
Follow up after training, check on wage paid, etc.

The staff carrying out the counseling functions would include 1) trained professionals especially skilled in non-directive counseling and 2) community counselors, residents of an impoverished community in the area and formerly unemployed. The community counselors would be the go-between connecting the world of the unemployed mountaineer with the world of work, the world in which the job trainee lives and the world which he hopes to enter.



Poverty in the midst of plenty is a paradox that must not go unchallenged.

— President John F. Kennedy

Related projects for the support of the trainees would be community action components mainly in the fields of education and health. Adult education, medical and dental services, day care, community centers, home visitors are all possible projects which would be needed to make the on-the-job training feasible and successful.

The on-the-job training itself would follow much the same procedure we followed this year in Erwin. As soon however, as the project in the multi-county area was running well, the OJT program would be turned over to the local Community Action Agency to administer and continue, with staff trained by the project and with advice and counsel readily available from the project. Even though the project would now be working in another multi-county area, ties would be kept with the local organizations.

This on the basis of our experience this past year is a feasible approach to solving manpower problems of both employers and unemployed men in mountain communities.

Economic development functions would include working with employers to increase the efficiency of their operations, to indicate to them profitable ways in which their manpower requirements could be increased, and to help them expand their markets, both inside and outside the multi-county area — all with an eye to creating more good jobs. In addition, economic development would include the establishment of civic industries, small, low-capital job shops producing one simple hand-assembled item under contract to a manufacturer. It would be owned by people in the community where it is located, and by the workers themselves, with profits either plowed back into the business or distributed among the owners. Getting contracts for these industries, and assisting the owner in making the industries self-sufficient would also be the function of the economic development phase of the project.

2. NEW CAREERS

Our second recommendation for future manpower work is in the public sector, that of hiring and training currently unemployed mountain men and women for jobs as non-professionals and sub-professionals created by the myriad programs of new social legislation and by the desperate shortage of trained professionals.

Though the book, *New Careers for the Poor,* is slanted toward needs in the urban area, many similar jobs need to be done in rural areas and the need for people trained to do them is even less likely to be met from the ranks of the trained professionals in health, education and social welfare.

Community action organizations are beginning to employ the poor in some of these positions, sometimes combining Work Experience and Training Programs

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and other components, but the need for assistance in training these new workers and making them sub-professionals with current competence and upward mobility is a desperate one. Community action agencies are swamped with many other problems and are not staffed generally with people either trained or experienced in training or supervising workers in sub-professional positions. Colleges and universities so far have shown no interest in meeting this need and neither have many other groups. But the need is great for skilled help from some quarter. Until some general philsophy and techniques are formulated for training these sub-professionals, community action agencies should consider it their responsibility and include provision for training or consultant help with training in their proposals for components. It must be done if projects hiring the poor are to succeed. Our first recommendation concerning on the job training includes extensive training for the indigenous community counselors which would continue throughout the project.

With some competent help in carrying out the training and counseling, these new careers can be of great help in providing both challenging work to unemployed people and in providing desperately needed services to people and communities who have never before had adequate medical and dental care, educational programs, legal aid, recreational programs, or the myriad of social welfare services.

3. DIRECT EMPLOYMENT

The third area of future manpower concern is also in the public sector, that of direct employment of the poor to do such work as conservation, maintaining public facilities, construction of access roads and bridges to isolated communities, sewer systems, recreational areas, and beautification, using the latest methods in these fields to provide upward mobility to those working on these jobs.

The work mentioned above is not going to be done directly by private enterprise. But it needs to be done and has needed to be done for years. Hiring currently unemployed men to do these jobs will, once again, provide them with an income and aid the community by meeting some of its unmet physical needs.

It is important in this third recommendation to emphasize that every possible means should be used to combine training with this work experience. The very latest methods of carrying out the job should be used and coupled with skilled supervision and even adult education or work centered classes. Trainees should have learned new skills and something about this technological age as a result of having done each job. The supports of the community action programs such as day care, adult education, remedial medical and dental care and all the others should be used.

However, the job is more important than the training. The Work Experience and Training Program, funded under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, has demonstrated the positive value of direct employment. The men on this program have received little in the way of training, but see the program as the salvation of their home and family. This Title V experience has taught us that direct employment programs are a good first step toward solving the manpower development problem for many men. For others who are handicapped or trapped in isolated areas, it is the only step.

One doesn't work in this area very long before he is overcome with a sense of urgency about something's being done in the field of manpower. Say what one will about the nation's moral responsibility for what happened to both land and people in these mountains, and it is great, if we do not take seriously our national commitment to do something at last about the situation here, our problems will include more than moral guilt. Promises kindle hope, but promises broken kindle frustration and despair and desperation. Allowing mountainsides to erode and wash away is folly; allowing human experience and creativity and intelligence to erode and waste away is madness.

Some rather drastic commitments are required, but the public tools are available, waiting to be used to forge a structure which resembles more a highway to the future than a rambling pathway through the past.

Appendix A

Bobby Phillips

Bobby is an eighteen-year-old Negro who dropped out of school after the 7th grade. His parents separated twelve years ago. His mother fled to Chicago and has given birth to four additional children. His father journeyed to a nearby city, found a job as a maintenance worker and, wanting a new life, shed any responsibility for bringing up either Bobby or Bobby's mentally retarded sixteen-year-old sister, Faye. Great Aunt Gretchen who has a daughter of her own consented to bring up Bobby and Faye. They live in rural East Kentucky.

I first met Bobby in January as he stood beside a gravel road staring at a Job Corps poster nailed to a telephone pole. "I wonder how a fellow gets into that thing?" he asked, looking in my direction. This was the beginning of a relationship between Bobby and me from which he has gained some new confidence in himself. During the following months I assisted Bobby in applying for the Job Corps and encouraging him in the wait, but the months came and went and Bobby still had no answer about getting into the Job Corps.

Like countless others, Bobby sent in his Job Corps application and received the form letter from OEO stating that he would soon be contacted by a representative in the area. Bobby waited but was contacted by no one. Evidently, his name had not found its way to the list of the local Employment Service.

A phone call from the local Employment Service one afternoon in May gave me new hope that finally potential enrollees like Bobby would get their chance at the Job Corps. An order for forty Job Corps enrollees had been received by the local Employment Service office but their recruiting list was dwindling. "Could you please round up some of the fellows that you have contact with and get them to the Employment Office for testing?" they asked. Immediately contact was made with the twenty or so fellows in the area with whom I had talked about the Job Corps. Bobby was one.

I journeyed with Bobby to the Employment Service office. After understanding what the questions meant, Bobby, with his home situation, was able to meet most of the criteria. He took the test and was informed that he had made ten points above the average. The next step was to take the physical examination and obtain a copy of his birth certificate. The conversation on the way home was relaxing. Bobby talked as though he had just came through a final examination.

Two days later I received a call from a lady who had been very concerned about Bobby. She informed me that neither Great Aunt Gretchen nor Bobby's father would sign their names to give consent for Bobby to go into the Job Corps. Bobby had left home. He wound up in Detroit where he stayed with an aunt for one night and then found a way to Chicago to find his mother.

After finding his mother and getting her permission, Bobby returned and again stopped by the office. I convinced him that he should go on with his physical examination. Days went by and we heard nothing about the results; finally I called and they indicated that there was some difficulty. It took several more calls before I was able to find out that the lung X-ray was not clear; they suspected TB. This disqualified him for the Job Corps, but they took no action to get him under a doctor's care. Finally we were able to arrange for another lung X-ray in October and it seemed to be negative. But still no further word came on Bobby's acceptance into the Job Corps. Constant checks with the ES office only brought the response, "His application is in Washington."

Late in November Bobby received correspondence indicating that he was in the process of being drafted. But he also was having some run ins with the police: suspected thefts.

Exactly one year from the day when I first met Bobby looking up at the Job Corps poster, the Employment Service office called me asking for Bobby. There was now a place for him. I haven't seen him in over a month. I don't know whether he's in the Army or jail or neither. But I'll try to find him and tell him that there's a chance with his name on it.

Note: The "I" in the above case study is Larry Greathouse of the Manpower Staff.

Appendix B

Bob St. Onge

Early last spring Ivan Ryan, director of the manpower project at Northern Michigan University, called asking us to receive and make tentative living arrangements for Bob St. Onge, a 22 year old graduate of their training course for ranch and farm hands. Bob had been employed by L. Marion Oliver of Berea to work on his horse farm. He would be working six days a week, usually nine hours a day, for approximately $5 a day. We agreed to help him wherever we could.

Bob had a number of problems during the spring such as finding a room, purchasing an automobile, getting acquainted, and trying to live on such a meager income. But he adjusted really very well. One of the managers at the hotel where he lives took a personal interest in him and the others living at the hotel seemed to get along well with him. He paid his rent regularly. Mr. Oliver, his employer, stated, "Bob is a hard worker and we could use more like him." But he also stated that Bob has to be supervised one hundred percent of the time and that he has made some rather serious mistakes in the care of the horses. His immediate supervisor stated. "Bob is a hard worker, and he has been able to master a couple of routines such as the proper sequence of feeding the horses. But when new tasks are thrown at him, there is utter confusion and an inability to cope with the new task."

But the major problem has centered around his car. He had been in Berea only a short time until he became obsessed with a 1956 Chevrolet sitting on the used car lot next to the hotel. Though he had transportation to and from work in a car pool, he decided to buy the car and financed its cost of $150 through a local dealer paying five dollars a week. He has had difficulty keeping up the payments. In light of his salary this is not hard to understand. But the dealer is being more sympathetic than many would be.

One of the points of most concern to us has been that he has neither car insurance nor a Kentucky driver's license. At this point he has not been involved in any traffic accidents although Bob related that one time a motorist whom Bob had pulled out in front of had stopped and threatened to take him to the County Judge that instant for almost causing a collision. But the probability for an accident is high and being without insurance and money to buy insurance is extremely dangerous.

The other concern is over Bob's failure at this point to obtain a Kentucky driver's license. Bob has now failed the written examination six times. I* went with him on his last trip to the County Courthouse to try to persuade the officer to understand that an oral examination might be better in Bob's case since it is plain that Bob does not comprehend the written questions. The officer said that this was impossible. I have worked long hours after work when I was in town with Bob on reading, especially vocabulary, but many of his difficulties remain. He can point out the fact that the sign indicates that the road turns to the left, but is unable to articulate that this also is a caution sign. When he came to Berea he tested at fifth grade reading level but in spite of that he needs much more specialized training than I can give.

After working with Bob over the past few months I came to several conclusions which I wrote to Ivan Ryan:

"1. Bob is definitely in need of further training — both literacy training and skill training.

2. Even though Bob might receive wage increases, he is, doing the work he is presently doing, in economic bondage.

3. Bob, at this point, needs complete supervision over his working hours.

4. Bob has been able to handle his emotions fairly well in crises, but he has not learned from one crisis to the next what to do when similar situations occur.

5. Bob has been well accepted by those with whom he lives and works, but there has not been a crisis big enough yet to test his capacity to withstand the emotional pressures.

"I feel that Bob is a 'completable' person, but, at this point, the work in which he finds himself is not stimulating him mentally nor teaching him saleable skills for the future.

"As a legal 'next friend' I therefore ask that you consider the following. I feel that Bob should be recycled through another MDTA training program and re-evaluated continually as to his learning ability and his reading level. I am somewhat anxious and alarmed, in fact, about the fact Bob has been removed from the state of his legal residence since certain services would have been

made available to Bob in Michigan that are not available in Kentucky.

"I feel, also, that Bob can make it, but I see a need for other abilities which Bob presently does not possess. I hope he can be given an opportunity to develop those abilities."

It is almost impossible to calculate the number of hours it takes to work with — not for — someone in helping them solve their problems when they have as many as Bob St. Onge at this stage of his life. During some periods, I did little except work with Bob in trying to help him adjust and work out his difficulties. But most of the hours were after the office was closed spent listening or enjoying a home cooked meal or trying to figure out what to try next. Some of Bob's loneliness has eased since his parents moved to Berea, but he still has many, many other problems to attempt to solve.

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